Sings of Arrows

A Tale Told

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SLINGS AND ARROWS

Oratory is the moving of man to action.

Cardiff. October 27, 1916.

I came into politics to fight for the under-dog, and it has been all the same to me whether he was an underpaid agricultural labourer, a sick workman, an infirm and broken old man or woman, who had given their lives to the country, a poor slum-dweller, or a small nation harried by voracious Empires. In fighting this war I have simply, in my judgment, been carrying out the principles which I have advocated on this platform now for thirty years of my life. I have had no illusions as to what this war means or meant. I have always felt that the life of this Empire was at stake, and I know how much depends on that life. With all its faults the British Empire, here and across the seas, stands for freer, better, ampler, nobler conditions of life for man. I believed that in this war freedom was at stake, so I have thrown myself with all my heart and soul and strength into working for victory.

Conway. May 16, 1916.

[*Photo: "Daily Mirror"*

THE RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE SPEAKING AT BLANDFORD

FEBRUARY 13, 1926

SLINGS AND ARROWS

SAYINGS CHOSEN FROM THE SPEECHES

OF

THE RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE,
O.M., M.P.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION BY

PHILIP GUEDALLA

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PREFATORY NOTE

By the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, O.M., M.P.

I claim no merit or quality for these speeches beyond the abiding interest of their subjects.

The conditions of modern speaking are not conducive to the preparation of addresses that survive the controversy to which they were intended as a contribution. An eminent orator of the Victorian age once told a friend of mine that whenever he had an important political speech to deliver, he thought over it for a fortnight and then took several days to evolve, polish, and memorise its phraseology. On being asked whether he would advise others to do the same, he replied : "How can you spare the time when you have to make several speeches in a month and often in the course of a single week ? In my time we were only expected to speak on three great occasions in the course of a whole year."

Mr. Gladstone was the first great political leader to break through the three-speeches-a-year tradition. During his strenuous and ardent attack upon the Beaconsfield Government he delivered a considerable number of public speeches to immense audiences in England, Scotland and Wales. In his famous Midlothian campaign he addressed several audiences at great length in less than a fortnight. For this he was attacked by opponents on the ground that this

multiplicity of speeches was a grave departure from the dignity and decorum appropriate to his position as one of the ex-Ministers of the Crown, and especially as an ex-Premier. Lord Beaconsfield disdained to follow his great rival's lead in this respect and confined his replies to three or four polished but contemptuous utterances spread over an equal number of years. Nevertheless the Gladstonian precedent prevailed ; and a public man is now expected, in addition to numerous Parliamentary interventions, to make at least a score of speeches a year outside Parliament to more or less crowded and enthusiastic audiences of his fellow countrymen and countrywomen. The meticulous care with which words were chosen and sentences were framed and adorned and afterwards rooted in the memory has thus necessarily become a thing of the past.

Public speeches are now, as a matter of course, largely improvisations. Some orators will suffer from this cause, others will undoubtedly gain. To audiences the change is an undoubted advantage ; for in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the lengthy prepared oration was boring, dreary, and wholly ineffective. I have a painful recollection of what I endured in listening to many of these weighty and immaculate allocutions. A perfectly phrased but badly delivered speech may be a dazzling essay, but it is not oratory.

But what about the reader? The purpose of oratory is to persuade the listener to action ; and if the speaker succeeds by word, voice, and gesture in moving his auditors to the action he desires, then the nobler the action, the more exalted the orator. Yet

how many successful speeches of thirty years ago will bear re-reading, however carefully they may have been prepared? The most effective speeches I ever heard on the platform or in the Senate would be quite unreadable to-day. At the time they were hailed by partisans as triumphs of eloquence—either 'stately,' 'brilliant,' or 'sweeping,' or all three. They may still be referred to as events, but they are never read as literature.

Lord Morley said of the Midlothian speeches, which at the time they were spoken convulsed as well as converted Britain:

> "We are challenged to show passages destined to immortality. With all admiration for the effulgent catalogue of British orators, and not forgetting Pitt on the slave trade, or Fox on the Westminster scrutiny, or Sheridan on the begums of Oude, or Plunket on the Catholic question, or Grattan, or Canning, or Brougham, we may perhaps ask whether all the passages that have arrived at this degree of fame and grandeur, with the exception of Burke, may not be comprised in an extremely slender volume. The statesman who makes or dominates a crisis, who has to rouse and mould the mind of senate or nation, has something else to think about than the production of literary masterpieces."

When so severe a judgment on the deliverances of men who won lasting fame for eloquent speech can be passed by so competent a critic as John Morley, I am not vain enough to make any literary claims for my utterances.

This publication has a different aim. It is intended as my honest contribution to the discussion of causes which are as living to-day as they were when the words were first uttered. This is especially applicable to the speeches on social and economic

conditions. I assented to this publication because it may help to dispose of the suggestion, so often made by political critics who take their own sincerity for granted, that my interest in the under-dog has been recently assumed with a view to an approaching General Election. These fragments will demonstrate that for nearly forty years I have, to the best of my gifts, striven to plead his case and, when a chance offered, to right his wrongs.

Even the speeches dealing with the causes of the Great War are not altogether without their bearing on the questions of the day. Men are too apt to judge and condemn the momentous decision of 1914 without recognition or knowledge of the immense issues for human right which were at stake in the action then taken by the British Empire. That attitude leads to erroneous conclusions which are not only unjust to the generation that, with almost complete unanimity, took the plunge, but are bound to be mischievous in their influence on British policy in the future.

Ever since I can remember, I have heard discussions as to whether the influence of the spoken word was on the wane. First of all, we were led to believe that the School Boards had killed its power. It was slaughtered again by the popular Press, who with one accord voted speeches to be bad copy. Now the cheap entertainment afforded by film, gramophone, and broadcasting will, we are told, finally and for ever slay it. The best reply is furnished by the fact that in those very years one powerful party in the State has been created by spoken appeals from myriads of platforms. Broadcasting will give new life and

sway to speech-making. Controversy may be ruled out yet awhile by timid counsels. In the end it will force its way to the disc. A sporting nation, which is also a political people, will insist on seeing the ball kicked in one of its favourite games. When that time comes, the style of delivery may be altered to the exigencies of the machine ; but the true orator will adapt his art to the occasion, and the spoken word will be more potent than ever.

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INTRODUCTION

The text is ample, and the sermons one might preach on it are strikingly diverse. Forty years of public speaking, that excited forty years of comment, can scarcely be revived in silence. Echoes of old controversy hang on the air—of the last rally round the great voice of Gladstone ; of Mr. Chamberlain in sharper tones explaining the demerits—always the demerits—of Home Rule, of President Kruger, of Free Trade ; of Mr. Balfour, urbane, bewildering, and a shade bewildered in the bland Edwardian years ; of ancient indignations that sound faintlier now across the interval, voices once deep that the distances render a little thin, and all the crowding sounds of almost half a century of politics. Some voices—almost all of them—have fallen silent. But one persists, first heard at Westminster one summer afternoon in 1890, when Mr. Gladstone in frock-coat and tea-rose complimented the new member for Carnarvon, fresh from a by-election ; his mild felicitations were addressed, with the habitual inaccuracy of English public life, to "the hon. member for Glamorgan." It sounded briskly through the eager years of party politics, sometimes with mockery and sometimes, a little harsher, with invective. But the note held and deepened, till it became the voice

that challenged Lords, landlords, and ground-landlords in the stormy Budget days. A sudden hush fell upon Europe ; but the voice was speaking still. It was a trifle fuller now, with the deeper tones in which men speak for a whole nation. One may catch it still above the uproar of the war and the interminable debates of peace. Those voices died away as well ; but it persisted still—exhorting, mocking, or indignant. It sounded yesterday ; and it will sound as clear again to-morrow.

I

One is tempted to enquire with what interest we may revive its echoes. So much is lost upon the printed page. We miss the ring of spoken words and the whole comedy of acted dialogue—of the inimitable rate-collector, for instance, upon learning that Mr. Brown has made a bath-room : " ' Is this true what I hear about you, that you have put a new bath-room in your house ? ' Mr. Brown says, ' I am sorry ' ; and the official replies, ' £2 added to your assessment, sir.' And he walks home past a slum district, and he says, ' No baths here, anyway.' He meets the proprietor, and he just asks him the question. The proprietor reassures him on the spot. He says, ' No improvements about my property ; it is not worth as much now as it was years ago.' He takes him by the hand and he says, ' Well done, thou good and faithful servant.' " Some of the fun, perhaps, evaporates when we no longer catch the changing tones or see the darting hands and the eyes wrinkling with the comedy. But much remains. The mood in which the words were spoken is the abiding interest of these

pages ; and with an odd persistence the mood remains the same. A wise ambassador has diagnosed it :

> " It is often said that Lloyd George was too mercurial to be a safe companion for tiger shooting. The accusation, if not totally unjust, is far too general. Moreover, it ignores the essential cause of Lloyd George's mutability in regard to persons, viz. his obstinate immutability in respect to things. His conduct when tiger shooting would depend entirely on the classification he gave to the tiger. If it appeared to him that the animal was of the aristocratic type, no one could be more keen and eager, none more ardent and bold. If, on the other hand, Celtic imagination could endow the object of pursuit with some remote affinity with the underdog, it would be prudent for his companion not to expect meticulous fidelity. An invincible devotion to what he conceived to be the oppressed would overcome any conventional or contractual obligation of comradeship. This overpowering bias against the privileged is the explanation of much in Lloyd George's career which has caused astonishment and provoked criticism.

That mood, detected by Lord D'Abernon, lends unity to the diverse excursions of a long career. It was the same crusade from the beginning ; and if there is still work for it to do in England, it is worth reviving.

II

These extracts have been chosen with a view to current reading. Dead topics (and in politics most topics die extremely young) have been discarded. But the speaker's views upon more durable affairs retain a living interest. A large section is devoted to the Budget debates of 1909, since the world of 1929 faces the same problems in a grimmer form ; and it is still of interest to see the Liberals of 1909 at work on the foundations of the whole modern edifice of

working-class life—of Pensions and Insurance, and even of that Road Fund which may yet serve to finance our war on Unemployment. Nor is it quite devoid of entertainment to hear once again the dreaded voice of Limehouse, which combined economic precision with some admirable comedy and the more comic circumstance that it was once the terror of Tory firesides. One can still recall the execration. Yet it all seems so reasonable now. For 1929 knows just a trifle better than 1909.

There is an interest as well in the more recent age of Reconstruction, in the slow dawn that followed the long night of war ; for we have not yet reached noon. The same voice was speaking still, insisting on the difficulties (that look so easy once they are surmounted) of making peace, on the abiding task of politics " to make Britain a fit country for heroes to live in." That task remains ; and earlier surveys of the problem retain their interest. For much that was impracticable in 1919 may be achieved in 1929.

III

The interest is biographical as well. A wise man, endeavouring (without success) to dissuade a biographer from a likely subject, once warned him that there was no need for him to write a life of Wellington. The perfect life, it seemed, already existed in the modest form of a small volume called *The Words of Wellington*, in which a patient lady had compiled the hero's choicer sayings, and further biography was superfluous. The warning was unheeded ; but it contained a measure of truth.

For the spoken word is the very kernel of biography. Most of all, perhaps, for the great figures of democracy. Could Lincoln's life be written without the Gettysburg address or the Second Inaugural? Unlike the pure man of action, popular leaders leave far more behind them than their bare achievement and a thin trail of anecdote. A stray remark may light up a soldier with a passing gleam; a joke or two reveals an admiral; but the steady stream of spoken words illuminates a statesman at full length. For their oratory affords an ample canvas upon which they paint their own portraits for us in colours of their private manufacture with brushwork all their own. No biographer can intervene to spoil the picture with his misplaced ingenuity. That was their very figure, as it was seen (and as they wished it to be seen) by their contemporaries, which attracted—or repelled—their public.

But for some careers the spoken word is even more than a mere *Selbst-porträt*, or a bare record of causes advocated and accounts duly rendered. For public speech has often been the main instrument by which promotion was achieved. Disraeli's cold invective was the lever that raised him into leadership. Thus, in the last analysis, it caused the Treaty of Berlin; and to that extent his languid scorn altered the map of Europe. The same historical significance attaches to the far different voice imprisoned in these pages. For it brought the speaker first into Parliament, next into party prominence, then into office, and finally to something like international supremacy.

PHILIP GUEDALLA

PEACE

PATRIOTISM

There is nothing that can give a movement—labour or otherwise—greater strength and vigour than that it should be animated with the spirit of patriotism. Any idea or sentiment which tends to unite a people must be a powerful ally to the cause of reform and progress.

Bangor. May 21, 1891.

It was a maxim of ancient Roman jurisprudence that slaves should have no country. . . . The statesmen of ancient Rome knew well that even slaves, if animated by the ardour of patriotism, could no longer tolerate their shackles.

Carnarvon. May 28, 1891.

You can never terrorise or bribe a people whose hearts swell with a great national purpose.

Carnarvon. May 28, 1891.

Patriotism is a powerful element planted in the human breast to be utilised for the elevation of mankind.

Birkenhead. February 3, 1892.

Character is as important to a nation as it is to an individual. The national character is the capital of every individual member of that race.

Bangor. May 16, 1894.

The spirit of patriotism has been like the genie of Arabian fable. It has burst asunder the prison doors and given freedom to them that were oppressed. It has transformed the wilderness into a garden, and the hovel into a home. It has helped to drive away poverty and squalor, and brought riches and happiness in its train. It has raised the destitute into potentates and bent monarchs to its will.

Cardiff. October 11, 1894.

Patriotism is a powerful incentive to unselfish action.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

Racial characteristics affect, even if they do not determine, the social condition of a people.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

The spirit of the nation is the propellant of its armies.

Conway. May 6, 1916.

The small nation is like a little stream. It does not cease to have a separate existence because its

waters are merged in the great river. It still runs along the same valley, under the same name, draining the same watershed, and if it ceases to flow and to gather the waters of its own plain, the great river would shrink, the great river would lose half its impetus and the purity of its waters.

Cardiff. October 27, 1916.

It is not what a nation gains, it is what a nation gives that makes it great.

House of Commons. December 19, 1916.

National discipline is not incompatible with national freedom. National discipline is essential to the security of national freedom.

London (*Savoy Hotel*). *April* 12, 1917.

POVERTY

The most startling fact about our country is that you have men who have accumulated untold wealth living in gorgeous splendour in one street and a horde of miserable poverty-stricken beings huddled together in the most abject penury and squalor in the adjoining courts. Incalculable wealth and indescribable poverty dwell side by side. . . .

The countries in which the worker has attained the greatest share of comfort and competence are not the very rich and prosperous, but the comparatively poor countries like Switzerland. It is not in the creation of wealth that England lacks, but in its distribution.

Bangor. May 21, 1891.

A man brought up in destitution is like a tree, the soil around whose roots is scanty and impoverished, which has no space in which to expand its branches, which has neither light nor air to give brilliancy and health to its foliage. It becomes an unsightly stump, its leaves are shrivelled and blackened, and its branches crabbed and deformed. Penury possesses a sinister power of perpetuating itself. Once it seizes upon a victim it enslaves not only him but his progeny. It deprives a man of the opportunities ; it enfeebles

those very powers which ought to enable him to rise above his condition.

Carnarvon. October 27, 1892.

I hold the doctrine that the men who work and toil, the men upon whose labour the wealth, the greatness and the very existence of the community depend, ought to enjoy, at any rate, equal privileges and opportunities with those whose sole service to their generation lies in the direction of a consumption of the good things produced by the exertions of others.

Bangor. January 10, 1895.

I believe there is a new order coming from the people of this country. It is a quiet, but certain, revolution, as revolutions come in a constitutional country, without overthrowing order, without doing an injustice to anybody, but redressing those injustices from which people suffer.

Bangor. January 19, 1906.

The responsibility for the good or bad government of the people of this kingdom rests in the main with the members of the religious organisations of the land. It is well, therefore, that the churches should be trained to look steadfastly at the enormous aggregate of indigence and human wretchedness lying unredeemed in a country which is the richest under the sun and for the government of which they are primarily liable.

We have become too accustomed to regard poverty

as an inevitable social and economic symptom that is adequately dealt with and effectively treated by our Poor Law system. Christians think that their main duty towards their unfortunate fellow-beings is discharged for the current half-year when they pay their poor-rate, and they certainly think that the charity which they dispense from time to time to the occasional suppliants appearing before them to entreat their assistance deals exhaustively with the few odd cases that escape the meshes of the Poor Law. They now know that there are millions of their fellow-workmen living in a condition of chronic destitution and suffering privations which are not tempered in the least either by the organised action of the law or by the sporadic influence of personal charity.

The careful investigation of men like Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Rowntree, conducted with scientific minuteness and precision, has revealed a state of things, especially in the towns, which it would be difficult even for the orators of discontent to exaggerate. There are ten millions in this country enduring year after year the torture of living while lacking a sufficiency of the bare necessaries of life ; and all this exists amid a splendid plenty, which pours into a land so wealthy that it can afford to lend, out of its spare riches, thousands of millions to less well endowed lands in other parts of the world.

What are some of the direct causes of poverty ? There is the fact that a man's earnings are not adequate to maintain himself and his family ; there is the inability to obtain employment for economic reasons ; and there is the inability of men to pursue their avocation owing to sickness, old age, or inherent lack

of physical stamina or vitality. Then there is the most fertile cause of all—a man's own improvident habits, such as drinking and gambling. That is supposed to account for sixty per cent. of the poverty in the land ; it is indirectly responsible for more. Drink not only impoverishes the individual, but it indirectly contributes to unemployment by diverting earnings from necessaries of life, the manufacture of which would give three times as much employment as the production of drink.

The drink problem is the most urgent problem of the hour for our rulers to grapple with. Surely the suppression of this great social pest is not beyond the resources of civilisation. If it is, then God help civilisation ! Humanity is indeed doomed if it cannot cope with an evil of this stupendous magnitude, affecting its well-being. The causes lie open to its vision and are within its grasp.

The Government means to wrestle with it in earnest next year. It will require all the aid which all the organisations for the salvation of humanity and the improvement of the lot of humanity can give them. There are potent forces in existence which profit hugely by this degradation. How powerful these bodies are can be well understood by those who recollect the abject way in which the late Government surrendered to their menaces. It is not at all impossible, although I hope that it is unlikely, that there may be religious organisations in this country which, because their pique against the present Government has been roused for other reasons, may join the drink monopoly to hinder and embarrass Ministers in the task they are undertaking for the emancipation of their

native land from the worst infliction that ever imperilled its welfare.

Drink is by no means alone responsible for the poverty in the United Kingdom. There are many thousands of sober, clean-living men and women in this country who to-day suffer the privations of unmerited poverty. There is more wealth per head of the population here than in any other land in the world. Shame upon rich Britain that she should tolerate so much poverty among her people! The country that spent 250 millions to avenge an insult levelled at her pride by an old Dutch farmer is not ashamed to see her children walking the streets hungry and in rags. There is plenty of wealth in this country to provide for all and to spare. What is wanted is a fairer distribution. . . .

I do not suggest that there should be a compulsory equal distribution of the wealth of this country among its inhabitants, but I do say that the law which protects those men in the enjoyment of their great possessions should, first of all, see that those whose labour alone produces that wealth are amply protected with their families from actual need, where they are unable to purchase necessaries owing to circumstances over which they have no control. By that I mean not that they should be referred to the scanty and humiliating fare of the pauper, but that the spare wealth of the country should, as a condition of its enjoyment by its possessors, be forced to contribute first towards the honourable maintenance of those who have ceased to be able to maintain themselves.

Then there is our absurdly unjust land system. Drink and the land laws between them are responsible

for nine-tenths of the slumminess of our towns, and our system of land ownership is responsible for labour conditions in the country which drive men in thousands from the villages into the towns. Who can expect anything else? Most of the landlords of Wales extort annually as much for the mere licence to till the land as the man who actually does the work obtains for his labour and his thought upon it the whole year round. Even then, from year to year the man is subject to the caprice of the landlord. How long do you think that will last? It has broken down hopelessly in Ireland; if Britain had not been an exceptionally prosperous country, it would long ago have ended in revolution here.

The responsibility for the continuation of that system of wrong must rest with the churches. Although the majority of the electors are probably outside the churches' organisations, still the influence of those religious communities is paramount. The most powerful men in every district are, as a rule, to be found among their members. United in any demand, they would be irresistible. Look at what the Free Churches have accomplished in the education fight. Although the Established Church and the Roman Catholic Church were federated against them, they broke down the most powerful majority this country had sent to Parliament for half a century. What might they not accomplish if they were all united?

An alliance of the Christian churches against drink and social injustice would dominate and direct the Legislature. No influence, no monopoly would stand against it. Is it too much to expect? Shall it be

said by those who scoff at religion that the Christian churches only put forth the whole of their strength when they fight each other? Half the enthusiasm and energy spent on both sides over the education controversy would raise millions of the poor from the mire and the needy from the dunghill. Is it impossible? I confess that I am not very hopeful, but I shall wait, and next year we shall see whether the Church of England will repeat its achievements of the present year by organising great Albert Hall demonstrations and excursions to London, to help the Government to protect the hearths and homes of the people against the desolation wrought amongst them by drink.

Penrhyndeudraeth. September 25, 1906.

This is a rich country. It is the richest country under the sun; and yet in this rich country you have hundreds and thousands of people living under conditions of poverty, destitution and squalor that would, in the words of an old Welsh poet, make the rocks weep. This is a stain upon the flag. And it ought to be the duty of every man in this country, for the honour of his native land, to put an end to it. There are men in this country, of course, who are in such easy circumstances that they need not apprehend anything from the dread spectre of unemployment. The wolves of hunger may not be awaiting winter to prey upon their child. But still, I am one of those who believe that human sympathy is in the end capable of a deeper and more potent appeal to the human heart than even interest.

If these poor people are to be redeemed they must be redeemed not by themselves, because nothing strikes you more than the stupor of despair in which they have sunk—they must be redeemed by others outside, and the appeal ought to be to every class of the community to see that in this great land all this misery and wretchedness should be put an end to. I cannot boast, like Mr. Hyndman the Socialist, that I belong to a different class from the audience I address. I am a man of the people, bred amongst them, and it has been the greatest joy of my life to have had some part in fighting the battles of the class from whom I am proud to have sprung.

The task is great and it is difficult. The task of every reformer is heartbreaking. There are sympathies to arouse, there are suspicions to allay. There are hopes to excite, there are fears to calm. There are faint hearts to sustain, there are hot heads to restrain. There is the dormant interest in right to wake up, there is many a vested interest in wrong to be beaten down.

Manchester. April 21, 1908.

I have a deep conviction that by a sustained effort we can eliminate for ever out of the life of this nation the waste, the disorganisation, the intemperance, the injustice, the wrong which is responsible for so much human wretchedness. There is a vast amount of human misery in this country which is preventable; and—let no man be deceived by tranquillities—unless we exert ourselves to remove these evils, the despair

they create will rest on our souls. The victims, the poor victims, are too helpless, too feeble, too dispirited, too heartsick, to extricate themselves from the coils of wretchedness that strangle them, and unless those who have strength, influence and power lend them their aid there is but faint hope of redemption for those broken millions. All the responsibility is yours and mine, and of those who can do something ; and if we shoulder the burden, then we shall have for our lot the blessing of a noble achievement and for our children a noble heritage.

Middlesbrough. November 8, 1913.

This is what the workman is saying : When unemployment comes, when ill-health comes, when old age comes, they visit very unequally their penalties. He says that for one class it very often does not mean the deprivation of one article of comfort, very often not one luxury, but for the larger class, for the class that embraces the vast majority of the population, it means privation. In the old days it meant hunger, too, but we have altered that. But even now it means insufficiency. It means that his children have to suffer, and that hurts a real man far more than being deprived of something himself, and he asks : " Is that fair ? " " Give us this day our daily bread ! " The answer comes to one class with perfect assurance ; to the other class it is doubtful and precarious. And they say with an increased determination of voice and manner that a system which condemns millions without fault—men who have led sober, decent,

industrious lives—to that condition for themselves and their children is an organised blasphemy.

Manchester (*Free Trade Hall*). *April* 28, 1923.

War is like a great illness. A great illness discloses the weaknesses of your constitution and the strength of your constitution. What is the strength of the constitution of this country? Above all, it is a stout heart which endures to the end of a great strain; the strength of the Empire—an Empire welded together by the principles of liberty—the resources of this country, which amazed strangers, disconcerted foes, and surprised even ourselves.

What were the weaknesses? I think, above all, the weakness revealed by the war was the extent to which the social conditions of this country had undermined the physique of the population. Those engaged in the great problem of man-power ever had before them that prominent fact. When you saw the strong, sturdy, swinging men who came across from the Dominions where they lived under healthy conditions, and when you looked at those rejected in this country because they were not physically fit to defend their native land; when you looked at the hundreds of thousands put into categories where they could just bear the strain of the fighting line, you began to ask why was that.

Believe me, this is the problem for the young people to look into. It was due to the social conditions under which the masses of the people in this country are brought up. What are they? Insufficient nourishment, bad housing, lack of due care

for health, lack of essentials of healthy existence, lack of work and rest under conditions which are conducive to strength, inadequate leisure, and, let us own it, in many cases the excessive indulgence in alcoholic liquors.

All these causes are preventable causes. If a farmer saw that a high percentage of animals reared on his farm never reached maturity, and that a considerable percentage of the rest never came to the standard which is regarded as creditable to a good farm, he would come to the conclusion that there was something wrong.

He would inquire into it. He would say: "What is this due to? Bad feeding? Bad housing? Negligence? Or lack of care on the part of those running the farm?" And he would instantly do his best to put all those things right.

Judged by that standard, John Bull has not been a good farmer. You may say: "Well, he has made it pay; he has accumulated wealth; is not that a test of good farming?" Is it? He has a very good farm. He has had hitherto the command of the markets. His neighbours have been devastating each other's fields and buildings while he was making money. He has had generations to accumulate riches, which have put him in a commanding position.

That is not the case for the future. Those conditions do not exist for the future, and there is only one thing to do: that is to look into all those conditions, to put them right, so that the farmer should be ready to face the real conditions with which he will be confronted for generations to come.

What are those conditions? You have in this

country what I call the poverty line—the line below which millions of people live and have their being in this rich land, where they have an inadequate supply of food, clothing and accommodation to maintain life at a decent standard of strength. There are three and a half millions who live in slums in a country that could spend ten thousand million pounds on a war.

There is another line—the misery line. No destitution, no hunger, no privation, but conditions that are incompatible with the essentials of civilised life. Food—not a sufficiency of palatable food. Clothes—not such as you would care to see yourself and those you care for in a crowd with. Housing—yes, dingy streets, that you shun or pass through in a hurry. The only verdure there is what you see in the coster's barrow. That is why the costermonger is so popular. Ugliness corrodes the joy of life.

Doctors have either discovered or invented something they call vitamines. What are they? The chief ingredient is the green leaf. Believe me, the mind also wants its verdure. The mind—the soul must have its vitamines, and we must see that more verdure is brought into the lives of the millions of people who live under these conditions.

That is not all. There is no security even for such things as they have got, poor as they are—no security for employment, no security for sufficiency. Unemployment, ill-health, a quarrel with the foreman, and the security for those poor things gone, except such as the parish can afford. Books, enjoyment—out of their reach. Men have a right, if the country can afford it, to the essentials of civilised existence. That

is one of the things that you ought to see to before you lay your task down.

Can it be done? Human nature is a very complicated business. It sometimes puts forward a great effort for something for which it cares, a gigantic effort. Then it astonishes everybody. The late war is a case in point.

Then there are things which concern it intimately for which it makes no effort at all—none. It is beaten back so often by the lash of the Furies that it seems to lose heart.

It is very extraordinary if you look at the great pestilences and plagues of the past. They used to sweep away great swathes of humanity in every generation. Nobody attempted to cope with them. They were regarded as inexorable decrees of Providence and accepted as such. When somebody suggested that there was surely a cause for these things, they inquired into the matter, discovered the causes, and began to deal with them in a scientific way, and most of these plagues and pestilences have now been driven out of human existence.

Recently, and only too recently, there has been for the first time a concerted effort to deal with the terrible scourge of cancer. The effort is only a small one, reaching thousands or tens of thousands of pounds in a country which has spent millions. But it is the first, such as it is. There are curious contradictions in human nature.

The same applies to the social evils of the country. There must be a cause, there must be a reason, and it ought to be inquired into.

You must have a real examination into the evils,

a real determination to deal with them. You must deal with them in the spirit in which we confronted our enemies in the Great War, by practical measures and by a determination to use the whole resources of the land to stamp them out.

Oxford University (*New Reform Club*). *June* 22, 1923.

Letchworth and Bournville are possibilities ; they are practicabilities, built with human hands within our day, places where workmen have escaped from slumdom and meandom. The death rate is between seven and eight per thousand. Go to those streets in other towns where thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions, throughout the land—your working-class population—are living. The death rate there is double, treble, and the tale of the deaths among little children is a cruel thing to read.

There is an old Italian proverb which says, " Where the sun never goes the doctor goes often." What the British workman wants is just enough access to the violet rays of the sun to keep his children alive.

He is entitled to that. He has contributed his best, like the rest of us, to build up the wealth of this great country ; and when its honour was imperilled, he was as ready as any other class to risk his life to defend it. He is entitled to have enough room and space to keep his wife and his little children under conditions that will give them the same chance to live, at any rate, as any other class in the kingdom. As for paying for it, with his toil he has built up enough value in sites to pay for a dozen chances for himself and his family.

The great industrial quarters of our cities were planned and laid out, not with a view to getting the most air, the most light for every habitation, for every street. They were laid out entirely with a view to making the most of the land for the enrichment of the site owner.

The angels of light that speed at every dawn from the heavens carrying their radiant message of healing and hope to countless millions of homes are bricked out of the mean streets.

It is all a question of opening up great broad ways to the sun rays for all classes of the population alike. In Belgium they do it. Germany, bankrupt as she has been, with a currency for years that you could pave the streets with, has still been able in the years of her defeat and her humiliation to build places outside her towns, her cities, her factory and mining areas, where the workmen can bring up their children in the sunlight.

Cannot Britain do it? That is the question the Liberal Party is going to ask.

Here again it is a question of land. Every time a big road is made, it costs gigantic sums of money for the site. You improve—double, treble, and quadruple—the value of sites on each side that contribute nothing. Make them contribute, and the roads are paid for. A fundamental principle that I would like inserted in our Constitution is that every citizen in this land shall have an indefeasible right to a fair share of sunshine and air, and that all laws must conform to that principle.

Sometimes you see nailed against a dirty wall a piece of wood and painted upon it are the words

"Ancient Lights." It means that nobody can shut out the light from that wall. But there are men, women and children behind that wall; they have no right to the sun. If they move, they carry no right with them. That grimy piece of brick has, by the law of the land, established its right to the light and the sun. Those men, women and children have no vested interest in the light.

That is not the most ancient law of light on record. There is another law of light issued from a more exalted Throne. The land had been here for countless years, and the earth was formless and dark, and man was coming; so the decree issued from the Great White Throne—"Let there be Light!"

That was a law which was the inheritance of man and not of clay. That is a law that ought to be restored in this country. But under present conditions you cannot do it. You cannot find a place for the light, if the sites cost too much. You cannot make roads to the places where there is plenty of space. The land is too costly. The cost is for the public, and the value is for others. All has to be subordinated to an exaggerated deference to the majesty of the land monopoly. That is the law. So little children must continue to languish and wither away in the slums, and the luckiest of them die; for those whom God loves in the slums die young.

I want to ask, is Moloch lord of the English soil, that children should be sacrificed to him? I want to know. Here is a task for the Liberal Party, and never was there a nobler one, worthy of its most exalted position.

In 1909 the Liberals established a valuation with

a view to compelling landowners to make a decent contribution. They were confronted by an array of selfish interests, high and low, great and petty, but all well organised, well drilled, well equipped and very formidable, holding almost an impregnable strategic position in Society, in politics, in the Press and in many parties.

It is very difficult to set stodginess on fire. But it is almost impossible to make a torch out of selfishness that will light the path out of any darkness until it rots. Then it will burn right enough. That is the task of Liberalism. It may not be the most direct road to the Treasury Bench. But it is the surest way back to the hearts of the people and to a greater destiny and a more exalted throne.

I hope I am a good Protestant, but there is one appeal in Catholicism that always moves me, and that is the ever-present picture of the Mother with the pleading eyes and the Child at her heart.

We are approaching the celebration of the Great Nativity. May I ask of Protestants and Catholics alike that in these days of rejoicing we shall not forget the pitiful Madonna of the Slums with her pallid children.

London. December 18, 1925.

EDUCATION

What we want in this country is more right and less so-called charity. Such reforms as free education are not mere baksheesh to buy off a clamouring and greedy multitude ; they are simple acts of justice due to every individual in the land by virtue of his manhood.

Carnarvon. May 28, 1891.

There is no better weapon with which to fight the battle of life than education.

Taff's Well. July 1, 1893.

Poverty should be no bar or hindrance to the fullest development of the natural intelligence of every child of the people.

Cardiff. January 20, 1903.

The education of children in State schools is a matter of the most vital importance to the people. It means the difference to the children between entering upon the struggle for existence with a sword, sharpened and of tempered steel, and simply facing that terrible struggle with a blunt weapon of unhammered iron. It is the difference between success and failure, between

comfort and misery, between plenty and penury, between light and darkness.

Scarborough. May 14, 1903.

A highly educated community is a community that enriches the whole of the land.

Manchester (*Free Trade Hall*). *April* 28, 1923.

The most valuable asset which the nation possesses is the skill, the energy, the intelligence of its people.

Llandrindod Wells. September 7, 1923.

LAND

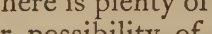
The land of this country was distributed amongst its owners, the predecessors of its present holders, for the express purpose of enabling them to organise and maintain a military system in the country for the defence of its coast, and even for aggressive purposes when necessary. The land was also to maintain Royalty and the expense of dispensing justice and preserving law and order. What has happened? The land is still in the possession of a privileged few. What has become of the burden of maintaining the army, law, order and Royalty? It has been shifted upon the shoulders of the toilers of this country. . . . Thus burdens have been cast upon the wealth-producers of the land—burdens that ought to have been borne by the wealth consumers. It has been the constant effort of the Liberal Party to relieve labour by replacing the burden upon the right shoulders.

Bangor. May 21, 1891.

I am not one to say that, because this country is wealthy, all is well. Who says so? A great, rich country, the richest the world has ever seen, and at their own hearthstones men, women, yea, and even children, are allowed to die of famine. What a shame

to an Empire like this! It ought to blush to think that its humblest citizen, living in its meanest attic, should die of hunger. That is what we want to cure, and you will not do it if you run after these little hatreds of other people. Don't forget that they have the same problems to settle as we have. They know that their problems are social—land and problems of that sort. The masses of the people in France, in Germany, in America are beginning to think out their own problems and to settle them at home. Let us do likewise. There is plenty of wealth in this country. There is greater possibility of wealth. We want to see this country a country where, once again, you get a healthy, strong, independent peasantry. You won't get it as long as you have the present land system.

Chester. July 28, 1905.



Walking along the principal streets of our great cities you will see displayed advertisements calling attention to the allurements of Canada, Australia and New Zealand for British labour. There you will find a picture of a nice home, with most beautiful surroundings. There you will see a large tract of land just before the harvest, thick with corn bowing gracefully under golden ears. There you will find cattle grazing on rich pastures, and there again you will see an orchard laden with fruit, and no doubt not a landlord anywhere to be seen and not a gamekeeper. During recent years these advertisements have attracted scores, nay hundreds of thousands of our best labourers to find a home across the flood. And point

has been given to it by contrasting their experiences and the difficulties of winning a decent livelihood for themselves at home. Do you know when the land question will be settled in England and Scotland and Wales? It will be when similar advertisements setting forth the attractions of settlement on British soil will be displayed in some of the most prominent windows of the streets of every city and town in the land.

Then you will have picture and print assuring the British workman that he need not flee across oceans and continents in order to find food and freedom and contentment and plenty for himself, his wife and his little children; that they can find it all in the old homeland they love so well. You will find a picture of a delightful cottage with clinging flowers, not hiding decay and dilapidation and death, but adorning comfort. There will be a large garden full of the sweetest and most nourishing food for the labourer's table. There will be pictures of nice little farms with cattle, sheep and pigs and poultry and corn, and all the best produce of the earth. Then if you go to the great valleys and mountains of the North, instead of a wilderness over which the deer roam uninterruptedly you will find the crofters in the valleys tilling the soil, the soil their fathers cultivated and bled for. And looking up the mountain-sides, you will see them clad with forests, to shelter and give warmth and give employment during the winter months to the men down in the glens. Where you now see rush, thorn and bramble and covert for game, you will have luxuriant crops feeding the hungry. You will have pictures then of contented men, happy women and

merry children, care, anxiety, hunger driven for ever from their faces by the sunshine of the new hope that will have dawned on their native land. Then it can be said of this rich, fertile, beautiful land, as was said of another country where Jubilee protected the home of its peasantry :

> Thou visitest the earth and makest it very plenteous.
> Thou crownest the year with Thy goodness and Thy clouds drop fatness.
> They shall drop upon the dwellings of the wilderness, and the little hills shall rejoice on every side.
> The folds shall be full of sheep, the valleys also shall stand so thick with corn that they shall laugh and sing.

Bedford. October 11, 1913.

What you want is more capital in the land. You want to induce the cultivator to put all his energy, all his brain, all his labour, all his capital into the land, and to attract as much capital as he can for the purpose. He could not do that unless the law secures to him that he will reap the full reward of whatever he puts into the land. And I will tell you where security is very, very important, especially important. Until you give security to the cultivator, he has not the necessary inducement to develop land which does not pay him within the first year or two. There is one great difference between agriculture here and abroad. A farmer is as good here as in any country in the world, but you will find more land of the second quality and third quality brought into cultivation abroad than you do here. A man who has only an assurance that he can remain on his farm for twelve

months or eighteen months and no more may make his best out of the farm, if he knows that he will reap his harvest within twelve or eighteen months; but he would be very loath and would be very shy of spending money on the development of land which may not pay for five, ten or fifteen years. The success of every business depends on your being able to look ahead for at least ten years.

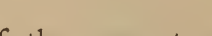
Swindon. October 22, 1913.

You never can tell when the strain will come upon the might of England, when she will need the sturdy peasantry which, in the past, has many a time preserved her from a catastrophe and restored her strength when she had fallen. You must, therefore, attract the population to the land quickly, and there is only one way of doing that. You must induce the stream of emigration from the towns to flow into the land of your own country. You must be able to attract the surplus population of the towns as well. You cannot do it now. Trade is good, thanks to the Liberal Government, but no Government can resist for ever the inevitable fluctuations of trade. We have had bad trade before; we may get it again. With bad trade comes unemployment. You want, when thousands are wandering in the streets of our great towns—thousands of sturdy workers—you want to be able to have a placard up and say: "Why starve when there is plenty of excellent work to be had within a few miles of you on the land?"

Swindon. October 22, 1913.

No individual landowner can be expected to afforest on a great scale, when perhaps it is only his grandchildren who will get the benefit. But thirty years in the life of a nation and fifty years in the life of a nation is but a season in the life of man. A nation that is going to be great must have the foresight to look ahead for generations.

Swindon. October 22, 1913.



The worst of the present rating system is that the moment a man neglects his property, he escapes rates: the moment a man begins to improve his property he is fined as a ratepayer. A shopkeeper extends his premises, a great workshop is erected, the rate assessor comes down and says: "I am informed," or let us put it in technical language, "Information has been laid against you, sir, that you have extended your works, that you are providing more employment for hundreds of workmen: are you guilty or not guilty?" He says, "I cannot deny it." Then says the assessor, "I fine you £50 or £100 a year as long as you live, and don't do it again." And he goes on to a moorland near Leeds—not a building in sight, not a plough on the land, no sign of one. Then he says, "This is all right, no improvements here." He meets the proprietor and says, "What are you doing with this land?" The proprietor says, "I am holding it up until Leeds people want water; then I am going to charge them eight hundred years' purchase for disturbing my pheasants." The rate collector takes him by the

hand and says, "It is such men as you who make the greatness of our country; we will only put you down 12s. an acre. We have to put something down."

He goes home, feeling that he has done his duty. But somebody meets him in the street and says, "Have you heard that Mr. Brown has added a bathroom to his house?" He says, "I don't believe it; I will go there at once." He goes, and says, "Is this true what I hear about you, that you have put a new bathroom to your house?" Mr. Brown says, "I am sorry"; and the official replies, "£2 added to your assessment, sir." And he walks home past a slum district, and he says, "No baths here, anyway." He meets the proprietor, and he just asks him the question. The proprietor reassures him on the spot. He says, "No improvements about my property; it is not worth as much now as it was years ago." He takes him by the hand and he says, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; go and write quickly thy assessment down by 15 per cent."

Middlesbrough. November 8, 1913.

The prosperity of the country and the towns is interdependent. If you have a desolated country, the towns will not survive very much longer. It is just that policy that has brought empires down in the past. If you have a congestion of the life-blood in any part of the body to the neglect of the rest, unless it is cured it is fatal to the whole organism. The same thing applies here. If you just concentrate

the vital energy of the people merely in these thronging communities to the neglect of the country districts, it will be fatal to the whole of this land.

Middlesbrough. November 8, 1913.

The first condition of good housing is a fair, just, equitable price for the land which you secure. The State has been like a bad housekeeper—slovenly, slatternly, extravagantly mismanaging things ; some children wasting substance, others crying for bread. That is the old order of things which, please God, is passing away. The new dispensation is on the road, when the resources of the country will be well ordered, well husbanded, fairly distributed. Where now you have land abandoned to the pleasures of the few, then it will be producing the best, the sweetest food, to sustain, to gladden the hearts of the multitude. You will have more dwelling-houses ; you will have fewer public-houses. As for slums, you will have no more of those pest-houses and plague-pits to poison the life of the people. Honest labour will be requited with plenty, comfort, leisure. Instead of workmen seeking labour with heavy hearts, you will have work seeking workmen. The children will be the wards of the State, the aged and infirm will be its honoured guests. The sick workman will be cared for by the community; for the nation will be one family, and its might and its majesty will not rest in camps and great engines of war, but in the homes of its people. And because we know that in order to lay well and truly the foundation of that new

order of things you must root every privilege and monopoly out of the soil, that is why the Government are placing before you these proposals for land reform, and we shall wait with confidence the verdict of the people upon them.

Holloway. November 29, 1913.

DEMOCRACY

The democracy must depend upon organisation much more than the aristocracy.

Liverpool. February 15, 1889.

The noblest effect of good legislation is the influence that it has upon character, and the best part of that influence of good laws is derived from the struggle to obtain them.

Cardiff. October 11, 1894.

Let our faces always be towards freedom, and let us never turn back.

Upper Bangor. July 15, 1895.

Freedom is not that every man can do just as he likes, but that he shall be able to do what is right without his actions being detrimental to his neighbours.

Carnarvon. March 12, 1896.

Politics are very much a matter of temperament. You can bring enough logic to satisfy any ordinary

mind of the reasonableness of any side of political argument. It is the temperament of men that determines the issues for them.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

It is a disaster to legislate in advance of moral sentiment ; it is equally fatal to fall behind it.

Glasgow. January 23, 1905.

There are men who will not take what they can get, because they are not given what they can't have.

Llanelly. September 29, 1906.

It is all very well to worship at the shrine of liberty, but you cannot defend it with garlands.

Birkenhead. September 7, 1917.

It takes as long for an oppressed people to get accustomed to freedom as it does for a free people to get accustomed to oppression.

Birkenhead. September 7, 1917.

There is nothing for which it is worth while selling your freedom.

Manchester (*Free Trade Hall*). *April* 28, 1923.

Liberty is not merely a privilege to be conferred ; it is a habit to be acquired.

House of Commons. *May* 10, 1928.

LIBERALISM

In arriving at a conclusion as to the creed or proclivities of a Party, you must analyse the elements out of which it is composed. No stream rises above its source, and the creed and tenets of a Party cannot rise above the prejudices of those who are at its head.

Bangor. May 21, 1891.

We never squabble in Wales about past, present or future Liberal leaders. We just stick to Liberal principles—principles which were in existence before any of these leaders ever came on the boards, and which will remain after the last of them has disappeared. In sticking to Liberal principles, we never trouble about leaders. We trust that there are leaders ; we say, in an abstract sort of way, that we follow the Liberal leaders, leaving it to you gentlemen in England to say who they are. . . .

I think that it is a great mistake for us to discuss amongst ourselves who this leader is going to be, and who the next leader is going to be. I will tell you why. No Party has ever existed with one leader. That sounds, perhaps, a little strange ; but the fact is that the best leader for a man is the man he chooses to follow. One man suits the temperament of one

section ; another suits the temperament of another. So long as both leaders lead along the right path, each section follows its own leader, and each leader will lead him to the same place.

I remember that when I went into politics a few years ago, there were two leaders. There was Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, but there were many who followed Mr. Bright. That is the state of things ; there will be one towering figure, but there will be others who will affirm the convictions of a large section of the Party.

Newcastle (*Liberal Club*). *April* 4, 1903.

I believe that the Liberal Party has been called to the task of maintaining the commerce which has filled every sea with British shipping and every land with British merchandise—the commerce which has made this Empire the wealthiest under the sun. But I believe that the Liberal Party has also been summoned by heaven to an even nobler task, and that is to see that there is no man found dying of hunger in the meanest attic of this splendid Imperial palace. I believe that it will be part of the pride of the Liberal Party to defend the honour of Britain's flag to the ends of the earth, and I believe that it owes a more sacred duty to that flag ! It is this—to see that it no longer is disgraced by waving over dens where myriads of men, women and children of British blood rot in wretchedness, poverty and vice.

Perth. November 24, 1904.

The interests of the country must come first. I have seen parties destroyed by personal resentments. I have seen parties rendered impotent by personal resentments. I have seen their judgment deflected ; and for that reason they were not making the contribution they ought to make to the well-being of the people for whose prosperity we are most deeply concerned. We will not make that mistake, whatever happens. We will consider the land to which we are deeply attached first. Its interests must be deepest in our hearts. Its interests must be highest in our concerns. Britain first. Any party, even our own, second and even last.

London (*Hotel Victoria*). *October* 25, 1922.

Liberalism in order to live must demonstrate to the new generation that it represents a real and deep human need which cannot be satisfied by any other party. Its appeal must be a living one to the times we live in. Toryism undoubtedly makes an appeal to one essential mood of human nature—that of fundamental inertia ; and that is sometimes a real human need. Every time the nation is exhausted with a great effort to advance further along the road of progress, it falls back on the repose of Conservatism. The year 1874 is the classical example in our generation of this process. A tired nation is a Tory nation. Every man tends to become a Tory himself when tired, disinclined for exertion, wishing to be left alone, cross with anyone who proposes new efforts, and, may I add, tempted to view the drink traffic with an

unusually friendly eye. Toryism makes an inherent and instinctive appeal to very prevalent moods in human nature—contentment with your own lot; indifference to the lot of others, often through ignorance of the conditions or lack of imagination to realise them; rooted habits and prejudices. All these things make "Die-hard" Toryism as perennial as the vegetation which springs up spontaneously in the fallow land.

Toryism would, if left alone, do nothing. Liberalism would break the soil with the plough. Socialism prefers to do it with an earthquake. Russia has shown that by that means you only litter the ground with debris for a whole generation.

London (*National Liberal Club*). *May* 12, 1924.

The story of Liberalism has not yet been told. Whether it will have the responsibility, the independent responsibility, for the destiny of this great people and this great Empire as it has in the past, or whether it will act in combination with others as it practically has done since 1886, and what combinations and associations there may be I am not going to predict; but I am quite sure that the central ideas that Liberalism stands for are vital to the life and the continued power and influence of this country and of the world.

Liberty is not as popular as it was when I was young. There are few here who can go back as far as I can. I remember the magic effect of the word "liberty" in a meeting. There was a thrill in it, which

carried something that no argument and no eloquence could convey.

There is something that has deadened its power for the moment. Liberty is at a discount in many lands. The rulers of Italy mock at it openly, saying: "You want order, discipline, authority. You want prosperity and material well-being. What is all this talk of liberty? That is dead and gone."

In Russia there was a revolution. It was created by a desire for liberty. Then there came in a great sinister force which dethroned liberty before it had taken the sceptre into its hands. They said: "It is not liberty you want. It is something known as the power of the proletariat, the rule of a small class dominating over vast multitudes."

The peasant in Russia has no liberty. In Spain constitutional liberty has, for the moment, disappeared. I do not know the effect of the revolution in Greece. I cannot tell. But there is no doubt that liberty for the moment has lost its magic power upon this generation.

Young people to-day do not remember what it meant to the generation in which I was brought up. There are to-day other ideas and other appeals, but liberty will come back to its own again. It is no usurper, liberty; no pretender, liberty. It is something which is one of the most vital ingredients in human progress. Material prosperity cannot make up for the loss of it. Better wages, better conditions of labour, shorter hours, even the rule of the proletariat cannot make up for the loss of liberty.

It is something that inspires and dignifies mankind, and distinguishes man from the beasts of the

field. You may turn him into rich pastures, and treat him well and house him. He will still be a beast of the field.

Liberty is what belongs to real manhood; and because Liberalism stands for something which is eternal on the way to the emancipation of man, I am in favour of every organisation that brings young men and women together to work for it.

London (1920 *Club*). *April* 14, 1927.

NONCONFORMITY

It is impossible for the religion of a minority to be a national one.

Carnarvon. November 11, 1890.

The Church is making tremendous efforts to regain its lost influence ; that we admit. It builds new churches, and restores old ones ; it founds extension societies and other societies ; it multiplies its forces in the way of curates and lecturers ; but it does not strike the right chords, and the heart of the Welsh people does not vibrate. It is nothing but a strenuous endeavour on the part of the organ-blower to play the organ. You can hear the whistling of the wind as it rushes through the pipes ; you can hear the creaking of the machinery ; you can see the sweating and perspiring of the man at the bellows ; but not a chord of music can you hear. There is no one to press the pedals or to touch the finger board. The preaching of Wales, the hymns of Wales, her patriotism, her religious fervour—these are not voiced ; and yet all that wheezing and puffing of the machinery will, we are asked to believe, withdraw the ear of the nation from that grand symphony which has held successive generations of Welshmen in rapture.

Wales is going to turn back seven hundred years to the days of ritualism! I see no indication of it. Certainly not at this moment, when she is striving and straining every nerve in the eagerness of her advance along the paths of national progress. Woe to the institution that stands in the way of her onward march! She is founding colleges, universities and schools. She is organising her national resources to win national triumphs. Wales is not going back.

You may have read Prescott's splendid description of the Spanish army's coming in sight of Mexico. It has overcome tremendous obstacles. It has passed through great perils. It has vanquished numerous foes, and it has now mounted the crest of the hill; the golden valley of Mexico lies beneath it. The Spanish general appeals to his men with confidence not to turn back when the reward of their great toil is within their grasp. Wales has also had a toilsome march. It has traversed many a mountain and marsh; it has been attacked by innumerable foes; and the national existence of this brave little army of patriots appeared many a time to have been blotted out. But it has surmounted every obstacle; it has crossed every steep hill and deep morass; it has vanquished the efforts of every enemy by the indomitable vitality of its patriotism. It has a few more battles to fight, but Wales will not turn back, for beneath lie the fruit-laden valleys of the future and the golden gates of Cymru Fydd.

Liverpool. November 20, 1891.

The ancient British Church is still in existence. Being expelled from cathedrals and bishops' palaces, it found a home in the monasteries. When those institutions were suppressed and plundered by the rapacity of the founders of the present Anglican Establishment, it fled to the hills, finding shelter in Puritan conventicles. At last, it has discovered a habitation and a sanctuary in the temples of Dissent. The bishops chosen by the people, the great patriot preachers whose inspiration is ever given in the struggle for freedom, the enormous popular gatherings to listen to these matters of the assembly—all these features of the old Welsh Church are restored in Nonconformity with more than their pristine glory.

And the restoration is not to stop at Nonconformity. One day, which is not distant, the old Church will re-enter into full possession of the cathedrals from which it was driven. The national spirit is rising rapidly in Wales. You cannot converse for a few minutes with a young Welsh clergyman without discovering that it is already percolating and trickling into his Church. There is nothing but the embankments and dams of Establishment that now keep it out. Once these are removed, it will rush in like a deluge. Then we shall once more enjoy bishops who shall be the elect of the people. We shall once more have the great preacher exalted and not the mere political intriguer, and dignity will be showered upon him who serves his country and not upon him who the most effectively thwarts her progress. Then shall the national life of this Church not flow from the flats of Canterbury and stagnate into unhealthy pools and morasses which poison the Welsh atmosphere.

It shall rather come straight from the hills in a quickening torrent which shall purify its waters, deepen its channels, and beautify and fertilise the valleys through which its course runs.

Birkenhead. February 3, 1892.

There has never, within recent years, been a time when such an onslaught was made upon Nonconformity as the present. An effort is being made to proselytise and to tempt Nonconformists to deny their principles, to leave the Nonconformist fold and to enter another. When a man does that, there is more joy in episcopal palaces over one Nonconformist who deserts his fold than over the ninety and nine who stand in much greater need of repentance. The fatted calf is killed for him ; in fact the roast veal is never off the sideboard of the Church in Wales.

One of the great principles of the Puritans was to teach personal responsibility, to confer honour upon the country, upon the man and not upon the official, upon the man rather than the squire, upon the man more than upon the priest. The man was, according to Cromwell, greater than the king, and also greater than property. That briefly sums up the Puritan faith.

Rhyl. September 30, 1895.

The career of the English Church in Wales has been one of dire wrong, spiritual and temporal, inflicted upon the Welsh nation. We are invited to take a walk through the gallery of history to dote upon

the splendour of this Church. Our attention is drawn to a series of archbishops, Saxon and French, clad in gorgeous attire. We see stately cathedrals built out of the plunder of Wales. We see all the pomp and paraphernalia of Rome painted on the canvas. But this is not all. There are other more striking pictures hung up in that gallery to which our attention is not drawn by our clerical guides, representations of a terrible struggle by Welshmen against the most powerful military organisation in Europe for religious freedom and independence. There is the cruel slaughter of the Welsh monks for no other crime than that of invoking the blessing of Heaven upon the sons of freedom. There you will find a series of archbishops issuing bulls of excommunication against the brave defenders of their country's rights. There you perceive a noble Welsh prince hunted to death by traitors, acting under the direct instigation of an English archbishop, for standing by his people in the hour of their trial.

Lower down you will observe a young man called Penry holding a scroll in his hand, upon which is written : " I am a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first since the last springing up of the gospel in this latter age that laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown on the barren hills." We see him persecuted to death by an archbishop of this Church. We see him on a bright May morning led forth to the gallows tree, and the sheriff, a member of this Church, refusing him permission to speak to the people and ordering him to be turned off in a hurry. We see Vavasor Powell, a saintly Welshman, pining in his eleven prisons, and

at last poisoned to death in a fetid den in Fleet Prison by order of this Church. We see priests of the Church leading mobs to howl down Howell Harries and the fathers of Nonconformity. We see the thousand and more deeds of oppression and cruel wrong performed by this institution and we leave the gallery of history to which we have been invited, not with a reverence for the Establishment, but with a firm resolve to do everything that in us lies to tear its bloodstained claws from the bleeding flesh of our native Wales.

Nonconformity has also a history, not one that will ever hang like a millstone round its neck, but a tale of great deeds done for the advancement of Wales, a tale raising it from the mire into which it had been flung by the English Church, a tale of cleansing and of purifying it, of elevating it in the scale of humanity. A century ago Nonconformity might, perhaps, have been rooted out of the soil without much difficulty ; but now it has become a tradition of Welsh life. Its roots have penetrated into every crack and crevice in our hills, deep down even as the foundations of our mountains ; and it appears now to be as firmly set in our soil as Snowdon itself.

Nations do not abandon their faiths in a hurry, even for better ones ; and there is no case on record where a country has deserted its religion until decay has cankered its vitality. Not only has Nonconformity hitherto shown no signs of decay, but it has displayed a healthy vigour ; it is full of sap ; it is a growing tree ; it shoots forth fresh branches ; it blossoms more freely and beautifully ; it bears more abundant fruit year by year. Why should Wales,

then, cut it down in order to find room for a plant which was given up 150 years ago as barren and cumbering the ground.

Christianity did not overcome Paganism until after its utter decay. Protestantism did not succeed, despite all the terrible corruption existing in the Romish Church, until after an effort protracted for centuries, and Puritanism did not wean the Welsh people from the Establishment until the latter had for two or three hundred years proved itself totally unfit to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. What, therefore, are the overwhelming reasons which are likely to impel the Welsh people in the immediate future to leap over every barrier set by precedent—to burst asunder every tie in order to quit the faith which elevated it for the sake of the one which degraded it?

Establishment has persecuted and plundered our nation time out of mind. It has endeavoured to thwart every national movement. It is still doing so; and I refuse on my part to be a party to any compact to provide padding for gloves with which to spar at the oppressor or to furnish cushions to ease its fall.

Liverpool. November 20, 1891.

Of all the evils which can be inflicted upon men, there is none worse than that of a corrupted religion.

Carnarvon. October 27, 1892.

When the last sect in Britain shall have vanished amongst the spent phenomena of the past, the ideal

of Christianity will shine forth like the stars to illumine the darkness surrounding the duty and the destiny of the human race.

Sects are ephemeral ; the teachings of Christianity are for ever.

Wrexham. May 10, 1893.

It is not possible to bully or bribe a nation into the acceptance or the abandonment of a faith.

City Temple. May 2, 1895.

We are examining what is a very important proposition, and that is the question of Disendowment. If this property does not belong to us, not merely ought not we to take it, but I agree with the hon. Gentleman that it would be an act of pillage to take it. Therefore, I am examining the proposition as to whom it belongs. I say it belongs not to the Church ; not to the parsons ; it belongs to the inhabitants of the country for the benefit of whom the trust was created. We are appearing on behalf of the beneficiaries to claim the restoration of it. I said first of all that there is every evidence to show that it has been treated as a tax, and that Parliament invariably treated it as a tax.

Come to the other question, the character of the trust. We are the beneficiaries. It is not the Church, because the Church never appears. It is not the parson ; he is a beneficiary so long as he holds office. He is the legal owner, the trustee, who derives the

profits of the tithes so long as he holds office. But Parliament has taken to itself the power of dismissing him from the office of trustee. You cannot dismiss a landlord when he gets drunk. The point I am referring to now is this : the Clergy Discipline Act was in itself an Act which imposed conditions of trusteeship of this property, which you would not impose upon any man who had property. Parliament has always exercised full authority in controlling this trust, directing it, guiding it, stating what it is to be for. One moment it has used it for this purpose, then altered it for another purpose, and has done that right through history. I agree with the Noble Lord when he says that there is one general specific purpose that has dominated the action of Parliament. The trust has always been used for the service of God. But Parliament has been the supreme interpreter of what the service of God meant for the time being. My only complaint against the Noble Lord and those who agree with him is that they take too narrow a view of that circumstance. Their view was never adopted by the founders of the Church. It was never adopted by the reformers. When Parliament recast the trusts of the Church at the Reformation, they used them for the purpose of founding colleges and schools, hospitals, libraries, almshouses, and for the maintenance of the British Navy. Part of Church funds went to the latter purpose. Another religious service for which the money was given was to endow deserving members of the British aristocracy. All was included in the service of God ! For my part I am willing to accept the interpretation put by the founders of the Church upon this service. The Noble

Lord said: "Yes, undoubtedly; but it was used partially for the poor, but that was always subordinate to other uses."

Lord Hugh Cecil: I never said Church endowments were for the poor. I said the service of the poor was a religious service, but a subordinate religious service.

Mr. Lloyd George: I do not agree with the Noble Lord, and I will give him my reasons. St. Augustine does not agree with him. What did St. Augustine say? And here let me say I am indebted to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Walton (Mr. F. E. Smith), who begged me to study "Selden on Tithes." I found it very useful; and he will see the service he has rendered, when I read out one of the first things I found was the result of that very useful hint. This is what St. Augustine said:

> "Tithes are required and a due, and he who refuses to pay them has invaded other people's property. A man who does not pay his tithes will appear before the tribunal of the Eternal Judge charged——"

with what?

> "with the murder of the poor who die of hunger in the place in which he lived since he has kept back for his own use the substance which God has assigned to the poor."

Who robs the poor? Is it those who give the substance back to the poor or those who keep back for their own use the substance which God has assigned to the poor? And may I say this to the Noble Lord? The Church that accumulated these endowments,

the Church that built up this great property was the Church that accepted that interpretation of the service of God. What were the monasteries who owned most of this property? They were the advisers and teachers of all. They performed the duties now undertaken by the guardians, the relieving officer, the parish doctor and the schoolmaster and others, and these were the objects for which these endowments were used by that Church. I could give the Noble Lord a good many other quotations of the same kind. There is a quotation from Dr. Hatch, one of the most learned historians of Church institutions, who says that the Divine right to the tithes and the obligation to give a portion of that tithe to the poor stand or fall together. As a matter of fact, the share of the poor has been annexed, has been alienated, not by those who are now charged on this side of the House with pillage and plunder, but by their accusers. My hon. and learned friend the Member for East Glamorgan the other day quoted a Statute of Richard II in which Parliament had actually to enact that a portion of these tithes should be given to alms, and Blackstone in explaining that says it is because that custom had fallen into desuetude, though it was part and parcel of the law of the land up to the date of the Reformation. Now the provision has fallen into desuetude. The mere fact that you are using this property now to pay the ministers of the Church does not mean that it is the only trust consistent with the character of the foundation. There is a passage again in Selden, which I would commend to the right hon. and learned Gentleman upon this very subject. Selden was rather answering

the clergy when he made these observations. They said : " You have taken away the tithes which ought to belong to us ; you ought to restore it." This is the answer which Selden gives :

> " It is ridiculous to say that tithes are God's part, and therefore the clergy must have them. Why so say they are if the layman has them ? It is as if one of my lady Kent's maids should be sweeping the rooms and another of them should come and take away the broom and tell for a reason why she should part with it : it is my lady's broom. As if it were not my lady's broom which of them so ever had it."

We shall be sweeping away poverty, distress, ignorance, disease, wretchedness by the money due to us. That is our claim in this Bill. The Noble Lord said that at the Reformation nothing in particular happened except that you got rid of certain corruptions. Is that really all that happened at the Reformation which bears upon this question of property ? Professor Maitland said that very great changes happened and I quote him because he is above suspicion. The first thing that he said happened at the Reformation was that the Church was established as a State Church for the first time. What is the second change ? He stated that at the time the Church severed its connection with Rome. These are both vital and fundamental changes in the trust. The Noble Lord will hardly deny that. What happened to the Church which was independent in doctrine, in ritual, in discipline and which was absolutely self-governed ? It became a State Church. Its very prayers are settled by Act of Parliament. I believe that purgatory was abolished by the casting

vote of the Speaker. You cannot discharge a transgressing clergyman without the authority of the Act of Parliament. The ritual, doctrine, rubrics, everything of that kind in the Church, are matters for the control of Parliament, and according to Professor Maitland that happened at the Reformation. Surely that is a very vital change in the character of the trust. What is more, the Noble Lord does not challenge the proposition of Professor Maitland that the Church at that time severed its connection with Rome ; that surely is a very vital matter that a Court would take cognisance of. Suppose you had trust property now given to an institution in connection with the Church of Rome and the trustees became members of the Church of England ; if they went to the Courts, is there any judge in this land who would say " It is the same thing." There is only one thing that would give a title to an Anglican trustee who had formerly been a Catholic and that is an Act of Parliament, and it is an Act of Parliament that gives it now and therefore it is a statutory and Parliamentary title. What is more, some of the very doctrines which helped to build up its endowments are doctrines which are denounced as damnable heresy by the present Church. That is a very vital thing when coming to consider Trust property. What happened to those who still stood by the ancient faith at the Reformation ? Was there a life interest given to them ? Were they treated generously ? What happened to them was they were reduced to beggary or sent to herd with criminals ; they were tortured, and sent to the gallows and the block. That was what happened to the people who stood by the ancient faith. Will the Noble Lord

state there was practically no change except ridding the Church of a few corruptions? I will give him one of the few documents still extant. He will find it in the ancient annals. It is a very interesting document, and it will be all the more interesting to him because it deals with the very diocese in which he lives, and I am not sure that it does not deal with the very parish in which he lives. It is the foundation of Peterborough. What happened there? When the trust was first of all founded there, what happened? The King sent the bishop to Rome to get a rescript from the Pope. He got a rescript from the Pope. Then the King summoned his Witan and summoned it at Hatfield, a place very interesting to the Noble Lord; and this was what happened at Hatfield. After the Witan had assembled they read the rescript of the Pope and they all assented to and fully confirmed it. Then said the King:

> "All these lands I give to St. Peter and his ministers, as freely as I myself possess them, for the good of their souls as well as for the good of my own, so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If anyone should do so, let him have the curse of the Pope of Rome and the curse of all the bishops and of all those who are here witnesses."

This was the rescript; it ends:

> "Now will I say the words: that whoso does not observe this rescript let him be excommunicated and thrust down with Judas, and all the devils in hell until he turneth to repentance.—*Amen.*"

Where are these lands now? Let the Noble Lord look up these names. They are very interesting. The Bishop of Peterborough got some, not with the

consent of the Pope of Rome. There are some worthy people who got the rest ; and if we come to grief for parting with the Church, we shall share our destiny in very good company. We shall have the Bishops of Peterborough since the Reformation and some very noble persons in the Eastern counties. What is the good in face of a document of that kind of saying: "You only got rid of little trivial corruptions here and there"? I could quote some of the Welsh documents of the same character. I have them here. You have a huge tract of territory given to a Benedictine or Cistercian abbey or monastery for the benefit of a man's soul and the souls of his parents. What has happened to the monastery? There it was planted in the hills, not merely looking after the spiritual needs of the people, but also their temporal needs—the monks were the doctors of the community on easier terms. What happened to them? They have all gone. Whoever else has a right to complain of Parliament not being authorised to deal with this trust, the present Establishment has no right, and the present House of Lords has no right. Property which was used for the sick, for the lame, for the poor and for education, where has it gone to? Part of it went to the Navy and part of it to the privy purse of the Crown ; but the bulk of it went to the founders of great families. It is one of the most disgraceful and discreditable records in the history of this country. I do not want to go into all these cases, but I am bound to take note of one, because I think it is specially offensive. The Duke of Devonshire issues a circular applying for subscriptions to oppose this Bill, and he charges us with the robbery of God. Does he not

know—of course he knows—that the very foundations of his fortune are laid deep in sacrilege, fortunes built out of desecrated shrines and pillaged altars? I say that charges of this kind brought against a whole people ought not at any rate to be brought by those whose family trees are laden with the fruits of sacrilege. I am not complaining that ancestors of theirs did it, but that they are still in the enjoyment of the same property, and they are subscribing out of that property to leaflets which attack us and call us thieves. What is their story? Look at the whole story of the pillage of the Reformation. They robbed the Catholic Church, they robbed the monasteries, they robbed the altars, they robbed the almshouses, they robbed the poor, and they robbed the dead. Then they come here when we are trying to seek at any rate to recover some part of this pillaged property for the poor for whom it was originally given, and they venture, with hands dripping with the fat of sacrilege, to accuse us of robbery of God. I say that Parliament has declared these trusts. It has altered these trusts, and varied them, and used them very often for purposes which were discreditable to Parliament itself; but at any rate it has never altered the trust in a way which is more beneficial to the majority of the beneficiaries themselves than it will if this Bill is carried.

I will give an illustration, with the leave of the House, of three parishes which I know well. Two of them are parishes with an area of forty square miles and a population of 1,400. The House will gather from that the sort of country it is. The other is a parish of twenty square miles, with a population of under 600—wild, rugged and bleak.

The aggregate population is 2,000 and the aggregate tithe is £370. There are three churches, and they are all down in the valleys, in sheltered villages. If you go to the uplands, you find the Church of England, with all its endowment of £370 a year, has not even a mission-room there. Who is looking after the spiritual interests of these shepherds miles away from the villages, down below? Those who live in the Highlands know the sort of country. There are twelve chapels there built by these men themselves. Go amongst the crags, and you find a chapel there which they have built themselves, living a hard life: only the sternest frugality enables them to pay rent, rates and tithes and live. The Church of England has in one parish, with its two churches, 110 communicants, and in the other parish it has twelve communicants. The Sunday school in the first parish has fifty-five, and the Sunday school in the other parish has five, with three persons over fifteen; and yet you have an endowment of £180 a year in one parish and £190 in the other.

The Nonconformists in their chapels have 1,100 communicants. They have 1,100 members in their Sunday schools, and some of them are most brilliant in the severe theological examinations that take place in these schools. The subscriptions in a year of this poor population amount to £1,100, three times the amount given in the way of tithes. But still more. Almost without exception they are the people who pay the tithes. Any time in any year for the last 150 years if you had gone there you would have seen the same thing going on. They do not even ask for their share of that endowment. I will tell the House

why. It is a very important point. They know that though it might temporarily help them, it would do infinite harm. They know that patient, unwearied, well-ordered sacrifice which has endured for five generations, and which has enabled them to build twelve chapels and to maintain them, is making a new nation. It is that spirit, that discipline, which has enabled the people who, a few years ago, were the worst equipped in educational matters in Europe to have the best system of democratic education in the Empire.

Take their secondary schools and their colleges. Who built them? There are rich men and we owe gratitude to them, but we should never have had them built had it not been for hundreds of thousands of peasants, quarrymen, miners and labourers all contributing their best. They have been built by the people, and it is that training which has enabled them to do it. They do not want them taken away from the service of God, but they think the ministry of the sick is part of that service, and anyone who has lived in these mountain regions knows what sickness means there. There are miles of track, broken and rutted by the winter rains, before you ever reach the high road. The people there never send for medical aid for petty ailments. The doctor is not even summoned for important family events. He is only called in when life is in jeopardy. Here in this district you have fifty square miles without a doctor. Ask anybody who has lived on a wayside farm in these districts or in the villages in the valleys, and they will tell you that one of the most vivid memories of their youth was to be wakened up in the dead of night by

hearing the clatter of a horse ridden furiously past in the dark, and everyone knew there was a dire struggle for life going on in the hills.

What do these people ask? They simply ask that endowments which were given for the benefit of the whole of the parishioners should be utilised for the advantage of those who create the tithes under these hard conditions. In the Highlands this kind of population has been cleared out. We have retained it in Wales and some of the best men produced by the country come from these districts. You meet them everywhere. They simply ask for justice at the hands of this House. They come here to the House of Commons to appeal for justice, for equal rights, and for fair treatment for the Faith which has done so much for their native land, for the Faith that cured it when the Priests and the Levites of the State Establishment passed by. They have appealed for that justice for forty years, and they are at last being heard.

House of Commons. May 16, 1912.

FREE TRADE

Free Trade is the surest form of protection.

Cambridge. May 23, 1903.

Mr. Wyndham is very severe on what he calls Cobdenite ritual. What is the Cobdenite ritual? He said that, as for the balance of trade, the services we rendered to the world, and the invisible exports, he would sweep them all away. Before we sweep them away, it is just as well that we should know what they are. What is the balance of trade, which he would sweep away as Cobdenite ritual? We buy from foreigners; yes, but we sell to foreigners too. Not merely do we sell to foreigners, but we render great services to them. Not for nothing; it is not a British habit. We carry their goods and passengers at a price—and a good price. We pay better wages in our ships than any country in the world, and still we are masters of the seas. What do we get paid for that? We get paid considerable sums of money; we get commissions. We have foreign investments. What is the result? That upon the balance of what we buy and what we sell, and what we receive from freights and commissions, foreigners are indebted to us to the extent of thirty or forty millions a year. The balance is in our favour. Sweep it away, says

Mr. Wyndham. Don't touch it! Making a profit out of foreigners! It is unpatriotic. If you want thirty millions extract it out of your own countrymen; but thirty millions out of foreigners is a Cobdenite ritual; sweep it away.

Then there are the invisible exports. It is rather a difficult thing to sweep away what is invisible. Still, Mr. Wyndham would sweep away the invisible exports. What are they? The invisible exports are the sums of money which we get when we carry goods for foreigners. I had an excellent instance of this given me before coming to this meeting. A ship started from here with a cargo of coal for Manila; thence it went off somewhere else, and then to Japan; then it came back to Sumatra; then to Aden; from that place to somewhere else; and at last it came here. It started with a small cargo worth about £3,000, and it came home having carried goods for foreigners. How much do you think it earned? £40,000. Where did most of that money go? To British pockets. Sweep it away! Don't touch it; it is foreign gold. That is Mr. Wyndham.

Do you know that, in the course of a year, foreigners pay us for carrying their goods the colossal sum of ninety millions. What does that mean? It means that we carry more than 50 per cent. of the trade of America. America used to have ships of her own, but that was in the days when she had Free Trade. She used to carry 75 per cent. of her own goods and a further large proportion of ours as well. That was before 1861, when she was practically a Free Trade country. She then became Protectionist, and

she is now carrying exactly 13 per cent. of her own goods across the seas and barely a ton of anybody else's. That is what America got out of Free Trade and Protection. We are now carrying 53 per cent. of her goods for her—for a consideration. We are carrying about 25 per cent. for Germany—German goods. We are carrying for Italy and Spain. We are the carriers of the world, and we get ninety millions a year for the job.

What is it from the national point of view? You get a great race of seamen—our real naval reserve. The security of the Empire depends upon them. It is they who will enable us to defend our shores in the hour of trial; it is upon them, their skill, their energy, and their daring that we shall have to trust when an attack is made upon us, as it may be. Yes; and it is they who enable us now to keep the Empire together.

Paisley. December 2, 1903.

The success of a country in war depends not only on its having a great striking force ready, but on having the most resources for repairing the waste and damage of war. In a naval fight what is the waste of war? The waste is in ships and men. Even with all our enormous Navy, we would probably be hit hard in ships. Both sides in the present war have been hit very hard. Although the Japanese have been overwhelmingly superior in seamanship and in the way in which they have handled their ships, still they have not escaped without considerable losses at sea. Very

well, it depends, therefore, upon how you are going to make up that loss. Is there a country in the world that can make up loss in ships like ours? Go anywhere; can you find such shipbuilding yards to repair ironclads as in Britain? Can you find such engineers? Yea, it is not merely that. Can you find the same reserve of seamen, of ship engineers to work the machinery of your vessels, as you have in this country? That is important, and the Baltic Fleet proved it. After all, a fleet that is run by landsmen is far safer at home. It is a good thing for show, but it is no use for work.

Britain has all these reserves. Who provides them? We get seventy millions from the foreigner. What for? He pays seventy millions for carrying his goods. We carry 60 per cent. of all the trade of America and 45 per cent. of the trade of France. They pay us for it. Seventy millions is paid by the foreigner for us to keep a naval reserve.

Mr. Chamberlain is going to tax the foreigner. Is he? How much? Ten or fifteen millions—so he says. Why, we are doing it now. The foreigner is paying the bulk of our naval expenditure at this moment. And we are asked to throw over this real tax, this *bona fide* tax, for the sake of a sham, a chimera of Mr. Chamberlain's brain. "Ah," they say, "Britain is alone." So she is. "Look all over the world," say these patriots, who believe in every country's intelligence except that of their own. "Look at Germany," they say. "Look at Russia." Yes, look at her. "Look at France and the United States." They are all protecting, except Britain, and

they say : " It is time that you gave up this Free Trade and followed these wise foreigners." It is not the first time that Britain has stood alone. Yes, and the world has to thank Heaven for it.

Britain stood alone practically in the world for constitutional freedom, not for sixty years, as she stood for Free Trade, but for generations—for freedom, for a free press, for free speech, for free conscience, and for a free Parliament. She stood alone, and there were Tories in those days. In those days they said : " Look at the great countries of Europe—France, Germany and the Spanish Empire. Why don't you follow their example ? See how glorious they are." But we had men of courage and convictions in those days : we had men of principle, and we stood alone. What happened ? The great nations of the Continent began to examine what Britain was doing, and they saw the splendour of her isolation in her fight for freedom. They talked to their own countrymen, and the best of the Continental nations learnt their lessons of freedom from Britain.

Bristol. November 14, 1904.

Mr. Chamberlain talks as though Free Traders were advocating the compulsory purchase of German goods. It is purely a question of individual freedom. If a German article is cheaper and better for the purpose than a British article, why should we not be at liberty to buy it ? Is it immoral or wrong ? Certainly not. Surely it was intended that the

nations of the earth should traffic one with the other. As humanity progresses, as science brings the nations together, are we going to set up barriers, scowl at each other, and treat each other as enemies? No friend of humanity, no friend of progress, no real friend of his country would advocate such a course.

Deganwy. January 14, 1905.

TEMPERANCE

Temperance reform is not altogether a question of removing the public houses ; there are other incentives to drink which need attention. Poverty, misery, the sense of wrong, ill-treatment by our social system, squalor, dinginess, the lack of proper nourishment, and the environments which surround the poorer classes, are all incentives to the people to forget their miseries in drink. To effect legislation on the temperance question, all the misery which surrounds the people must be removed.

Tredegar. September 20, 1894.

Drink is the most prolific cause of pauperism, poverty and social degradation, and is not only contrary to the principles of liberty ; but true liberty demands that the Government should take energetic and stern measures to suppress such a destructive trade. For every pound we spend at the present time in protecting the health of the people, we squander five in undermining ; for every million we devote to the strengthening of the national intellect and the purifying of national morals, we waste ten millions upon enfeebling the one and corrupting the other. Whilst the nation has patiently and painfully struggled

for centuries to win freedom for its children, it now hands them over to a more galling and hopeless thraldom than ever yet afflicted the sons of men. As long as this state of things is tolerated, our civilisation is nothing but a hollow and cruel mockery. The question is : how long are we going to suffer such an insult to our common sense, such an outrage upon our common humanity.

Manchester. October 23, 1895.

" Robbing the poor man of his beer." My observation has taught me that those who talk most loudly about robbing the poor man of his beer are those who have amassed large fortunes by robbing the poor man of his pence.

Manchester. October 23, 1895.

One man's wrong is always another man's perquisite : too often the drunkard's ruin is the brewer's dividend.

Manchester. April 21, 1908.

WALES

Welsh nationality has survived two thousand years in spite of every human effort to crush out its vitality. The strongest governing races in the world have successively attempted to crush it, to coax it, and even to pray it out of existence. The Romans, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans, and, lastly, the race which is a blend of all, have waged unintermittent warfare against Welsh nationality for twenty centuries ; and still, after all, here we are, forming Welsh nationalist societies, establishing Welsh universities, and claiming the same measure of Welsh national self-government as our forefathers fought and died for hundreds of years ago.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

The Welsh peasant, with his vivid Celtic imagination, sees more of both heaven and earth from his hill-sides than the shrewdest man of the world can see from his fog-enveloped club windows.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

Carnarvon was founded two thousand years ago as the outpost of a great Empire—the greatest Empire

that the world had seen. It was the Buluwayo of the Roman Empire, the very extreme of barbarism and savagery, just a fortified camp. The ruins are still there, and little children go to a school close by. They learn a language in that school, a dead language ; it is the language of that great Empire. They go out and play amongst the ruins, and they talk a language, a living one ; it is the language of the conquered and the savages. Let no man despise Wales, her language or her literature. She has survived many storms ; she has survived many Empires. Her time will come. When the last truckload of coal reaches Cardiff, when the last black diamond is dug out of the earth of Glamorgan, there will be men then digging gems of pure brilliants from the inexhaustible mines of the literature and language of Wales.

Cardiff. March 3, 1906.

BUDGET

Budget Speech

I come to the consideration of the social problems which are urgently pressing for solution—problems affecting the lives of the people. The solution of all these questions involves finance. What the Government have to ask themselves is this : can the whole subject of further social reform be postponed until the increasing demands made upon the National Exchequer by the growth of armaments has ceased ? Not merely *can* it be postponed, but ought it to be postponed ? Is there the slightest hope that if we deferred consideration of the matter, we are likely within a generation to find any more favourable moment for attending to it ? And we have to ask ourselves this further question : If we put off dealing with these social sores, are the evils which arise from them not likely to grow and to fester, until finally the loss which the country sustains will be infinitely greater than anything it would have to bear in paying the cost of an immediate remedy ? There are hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in this country now enduring hardships for which the sternest judge would not hold them responsible ; hardships entirely due to circumstances over which they have not the slightest command ; the fluctuations and changes of trade—even of fashions ; ill-health and the premature breakdown or death of the breadwinner. Owing to events of this kind, all of them beyond human control

—at least beyond the control of the victims—thousands, and I am not sure I should be wrong if I said millions, are precipitated into a condition of acute distress and poverty. How many people there are of this kind in this wealthy land the figures of Old Age Pensions have thrown a very unpleasant light upon. Is it fair, is it just, is it humane, is it honourable, is it safe to subject such a multitude of our poor fellow-countrymen and countrywomen to continued endurance of these miseries until nations have learnt enough wisdom not to squander their resources on these huge machines for the destruction of human life? I have no doubt as to the answer which will be given to that question by a nation as rich in humanity as it is in store. Last year, whilst we were discussing the Old Age Pensions Bill, all parties in this House recognised fully and freely that once we had started on these lines, the case for extension was irresistible. The Leader of the Opposition, in what I venture to regard as the most notable speeches he has probably delivered in this Parliament—I refer to his speech on the third reading of the Old Age Pensions Bill—and the speech he delivered the other day on the question of unemployment, recognised quite boldly that whichever party was in power provision would have to be made in some shape or other for those who are out of work through no fault of their own and those who are incapacitated for work owing to physical causes for which they are not responsible. And there was at least one extension of the Old Age Pensions Act which received the unanimous assent of the House and which the Government were pressed to give, not merely a Parliamentary but a Statutory pledge to execute. I

refer to the proposal to extend the pension to the meritorious pauper.

During the discussion on the Old Age Pensions Bill in the House of Commons several amendments were moved with a view to extending the benefits of the Act to the septuagenarian pauper, and I think it was generally felt in all quarters of the House that it was rather hard upon those who had managed up to a ripe old age by a life of hard work to keep off the poor law, and who only finally resorted to parochial relief when their physical powers utterly failed them, it was rather hard they should be still kept to their miserable and pauper-tainted allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, while their more fortunate but not more deserving neighbours were in receipt of an honourable State pension of 5s. a week, and often of 10s. a week. That cannot possibly stand. It was condemned by all, and could only be defended by the Government on the ground of stern financial necessity. With the unanimous assent of the House of Commons a purely provisional character was given to the pauper disqualification, and unless something is done, it automatically comes to an end on the 1st January, 1911, and all these poor old people, numbering between 200,000 and 300,000, will become chargeable to the Pension Fund. I cannot recommend Parliament to undertake the whole financial burden of putting such a transaction through. It would put too heavy a charge upon the Exchequer, and there is no reason why it should fall entirely upon Imperial Funds. At the present moment these paupers cost something like £2,000,000 to the local rates of the country. If we received a contribution from local funds which would

be substantially equivalent to the relief which would be afforded by withdrawing such a large number of paupers from the rates, then something can be done to remove this crying hardship. My right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board and I have entered into negotiations with some representatives of local authorities with a view to effecting an arrangement on this basis, and although we have not yet arrived at any decision as to the amount of the national contribution, we are very hopeful of being able to enter into a bargain which will be satisfactory to all parties concerned. I do not think it would be desirable for me at this stage to give any figures—otherwise it might embarrass us in the negotiations—but it is my intention in the financial proposals which I shall submit to the House, I am afraid not this year, but probably next year, to make provision which will enable us, with the assistance of the local authorities, to raise over 200,000 old people from the slough of pauperism to the dignity and the comparative comfort of State pensioners. That is a contingent liability which I am bound to take full note of in arranging for my finance, because it is perfectly clear we cannot impose taxation this year and next year impose new taxation for proposals of which at the present moment we have full cognisance.

But still, all those who have given any thought and study to this question must realise that the inclusion of the septuagenarian pauper is but a very small part of the problem which awaits solution—a problem of human suffering which does not become any easier of solution by postponement. On the contrary, the longer we defer the task of grappling with it, the more

tangled and the more desperate it becomes. We are pledged, definitely pledged, by speeches from the Prime Minister given both in the House and outside, to supplementing our Old Age Pensions proposals. How is that to be done? It has been suggested that we should reduce the age limit. I am emphatically of opinion that that is the most improvident and ineffective method of approaching the question, and that it would be the line upon which advance would be slowest and most difficult, and which would achieve the least hopeful results. For the moment it is financially impracticable.

A reduction of the age limit to sixty-five would cost an additional fifteen or twenty millions a year to the Exchequer. I will not say that is beyond the resources of a rich country like this, but it is much the most wasteful way of dealing with the question, for whilst it would afford relief to many thousands and hundreds of thousands probably who neither need nor desire it, and whose strength is probably more happily and profitably employed in labour, it would leave out of account altogether far and away the most distressing and the most deserving cases of poverty. What are the dominating causes of poverty amongst the industrial classes? For the moment I do not refer to the poverty which is brought about by a man's own fault. I am only alluding to causes over which he had no control: old age, premature breakdown in health and strength, the death of the breadwinner, and unemployment due either to the decay of industries and seasonable demands, or the fluctuations or depressions in trade. The distress caused by any or either of these causes is much more deserving of

immediate attention than the case of a healthy and vigorous man of sixty-five years of age, who is able to pursue his daily avocation, and to earn without undue strain an income which is quite considerable enough to provide him and his wife with a comfortable subsistence. When Bismarck was strengthening the foundations of the new German Empire, one of the very first tasks he undertook was the organisation of a scheme which insured the German workmen and their families against the worst evils which ensue from these common incidents of life. And a superb scheme it is. It has saved an incalculable amount of human misery to hundreds of thousands and possibly millions of people who never deserved it.

Wherever I went in Germany, north or south, and whomsoever I met, whether it was an employer or a workman, a Conservative or a Liberal, a Socialist or a Trade Union Leader—men of all ranks, sections and creeds of one accord joined in lauding the benefits which have been conferred upon Germany by this beneficent policy. Several wanted extensions, but there was not one who wanted to go back. The employers admitted that at first they did not quite like the new burdens it cast upon them ; but they now fully realised the advantages which even they derived from the expenditure, for it had raised the standard of the workmen throughout Germany. By removing that element of anxiety and worrying from their lives it had improved their efficiency. Benefits which in the aggregate amounted to forty millions a year were being distributed under this plan. When I was there, the Government were contemplating an

enlargement of its operation which would extend its benefits to clerks and to the widows and orphans of the industrial population. They anticipated that when complete the total cost of the scheme would be fifty-three millions a year. Out of the forty millions the Government contributes something under three millions a year. Out of the fifty-three millions they were looking forward to having to find five millions. I know it is always suggested that any approval of the German scheme necessarily involves a condemnation of the Act of last year. That is not so. The Act of last year constitutes the necessary basis upon which to found any scheme based on German lines. It would be quite impossible to work any measure which would involve a contribution from men who are either already seventy years of age or approaching the confines of that age as a condition precedent to their receiving any benefits. It was therefore essential that people who had attained this great age should be placed in a totally different category. But that is not a reason why the young and vigorous who are in full employment should not be called upon to contribute towards some proposals for making provision for those accidents to which we are all liable and always liable.

At the present moment there is a network of powerful organisations in this country, most of them managed with infinite skill and capacity, which have succeeded in inducing millions of workmen in this country to make something like systematic provision for the troubles of life. But in spite of all the ability which has been expended upon them, in spite of the confidence they generally and deservedly inspire, un-

fortunately there is a margin of people in this country amounting in the aggregate to several millions who either cannot be persuaded or perhaps cannot afford to bear the expense of the systematic contributions which alone make membership effective in these great institutions. And the experience of this and of every other country is that no plan or variety of plans short of an universal compulsory system can ever hope to succeed in adequately coping with the problem. In this country we have trusted until recently to voluntary effort, but we found that for old age and accidents it was insufficient. In Belgium they have resorted to the plan of granting heavy subsidies to voluntary organisations, and they have met with a certain amount of success. But whether here or in Belgium, or in any other land, success must be partial where reliance is absolutely placed upon the readiness of men and women to look ahead in the days of abounding health and strength and buoyancy of spirit to misfortunes which are not even in sight, and which may be ever averted.

The Government are now giving careful consideration to the best methods for making such a provision. We are investigating closely the plans adopted by foreign countries, and I hope to circulate Papers on the point very soon. We have put ourselves into communication with the leaders of some of the principal friendly societies in the country with a view to seeking their invaluable counsel and direction. We could not possibly get safer or more experienced advisers. We are giving special attention to the important reports of the Poor Law Commission, both Majority and Minority, which advise that the leading principle

of poor-law legislation in future shall be the drawing of a clear and definite line between those whose poverty is the result of their own misdeeds and those who have been brought to want through misfortune. All I am in a position now to say is that at any rate in any scheme which we may finally adopt we shall be guided by these leading principles or considerations. The first is that no plan can hope to be really comprehensive or conclusive which does not include an element of compulsion. The second is that for financial as well as for other reasons, which I do not wish to enter into now, success is unattainable in the near future except on the basis of a direct contribution from the classes more immediately concerned. The third is that there must be a State contribution substantial enough to enable those whose means are too limited and precarious to sustain adequate premiums to overcome that difficulty without throwing undue risks on other contributors. The fourth and by no means the least important, is that in this country, where benefit and provident societies represent such a triumph of organisation, of patience and self-government as probably no other country has ever witnessed, no scheme would be profitable, no scheme would be tolerable, which would do the least damage to those highly beneficent organisations. On the contrary, it must be the aim of every well considered plan to encourage and if practicable, as I believe it is, to work through them. That is all I propose to say on that particular subject at this juncture. I have gone into it at this length merely to indicate that here also is a source of contingent liability which I am bound to take into account in my financial scheme. In this country

we have already provided for the aged over 70. We have made pretty complete provision for accidents. All we have now left to do in order to put ourselves on a level with Germany—I hope our competition with Germany will not be in armaments alone—is to make some further provision for the sick, for the invalid, for widows and orphans. In a well thought out scheme, involving contributions from the classes directly concerned, the proportion borne by the State need not, in my judgment, be a very heavy one, and is well within the compass of our financial capacity without undue strain upon the resources of the country.

The Government are also pledged to deal on a comprehensive scale with the problem of unemployment. The pledges given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government are specific and repeated. I do not wish to encourage any false hopes. Nothing that a Government can do, at any rate with the present organisation of society, can prevent the fluctuations and the changes in trade and industry which produce unemployment. A trade decays, and the men who are engaged in it are thrown out of work. We have had an illustration within the last few days, to which Lord Rosebery has so opportunely called our attention, in the privation suffered by the horse cabdriver owing to the substitution of mechanical for horse traction. That is only one case out of many constantly happening in every country. Then there are the fluctuations of business which at one moment fill a workshop with orders which even overtime cannot cope with, and at another moment leave the same workshops with rusting machinery for lack of something to do. Trade has its currents, and its tides, and its storms and its

calms like the sea, which seem to be almost just as little under human control, or, at any rate, just as little under the control of the victims of these changes, and to say that you can establish by any system an absolute equilibrium in the trade and concerns of the country is to make a promise which no man of intelligence would ever undertake to honour. You might as well promise to flatten out the Atlantic Ocean. But still, it is poor seamanship that puts out to sea without recognising its restlessness, and the changefulness of the weather, and the perils and suffering thus produced. These perils of trade depression come at regular intervals, and every time they arrive they bring with them an enormous amount of distress. It is the business of statesmanship to recognise that fact and to address itself with courage and resolution to provide against it.

The Poor Law Commission has recently called attention to the importance of endeavouring to devise some effective scheme of insurance against unemployment. The question is one which bristles with difficulties and the Commission put forward no definite scheme of their own, but they expressly approved the principle and recommended that immediate steps should be taken to devise a workable scheme. My right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade has anticipated this recommendation, and the Board of Trade have been closely engaged for the last six months in endeavouring to frame and develop a scheme which, while encouraging the voluntary efforts now being made by trade unions to provide unemployment benefit for their members, will extend the advantage of insurance to a very much

larger circle of workmen, including unskilled labourers. I do not now speak of the unemployment due to infirmity or personal failings or of unemployment due to labour disputes, but to that unemployment by far the larger part of the evil, which occurs as a regular feature, varying with seasons and cycles in important groups of trades ; which renders the position of the worker in such trades unusually precarious ; and which can only be dealt with, and ought clearly to be dealt with, by a process of spreading wages and of averaging risks and fluctuations. I do not propose to enter into the details of the Board of Trade scheme, which is, however, far advanced, and for which the national system of labour exchanges promised in the King's Speech will afford the necessary machinery. We recognise in this matter that we must walk with caution and that it will be best to begin with certain groups of trades peculiarly liable to the fluctuations I have referred to, and in other respects suitable for insurance, rather than to attempt to cover the entire area of industry. The Royal Commission were emphatic in recommending that any scheme of unemployment insurance should have a trade basis, and we propose to adopt this principle. Within the selected trades, however, the scheme will apply universally to all adult workers. Any insurance scheme of this kind must necessarily require contributions from those engaged in the insured trades, both as employers and employed ; but we recognise the necessity of meeting these contributions by a State grant and guarantee. We cannot of course attempt to pass the necessary Bill to establish unemployment insurance during the present session. But the postponement will not

involve any real delay, for the establishment of labour exchanges is a necessary preliminary to the work of insurance, and this will occupy time which may also be advantageously employed in consulting the various interests upon the details of the scheme and in co-ordinating its financial provisions with the machinery of invalidity and other forms of insurance.

So much for the provision which we hope to be able to make for those who, under the changing conditions which are inevitable in trade and commerce, are temporarily thrown out of employment. We do not put this forward as a complete or an adequate remedy for all the evils of unemployment, and we do not contend that when this insurance scheme has been set up and financed that the State has thereby done all in its power to help towards solving the problem. After all, it is infinitely better, in the interests both of the community and of the unemployed themselves, that the latter should be engaged on remunerative work, than that they should be drawing an allowance from the most skilfully contrived system of insurance. This country is small but we have by no means exhausted its possibilities for healthy and productive employment. It is no part of the function of a Government to create work ; but it is an essential part of its business to see that the people are equipped to make the best of their own country, are permitted to make the best of their own country and, if necessary, are helped to make the best of their own country. A State can and ought to take a longer and a wider view of its investments than individuals. The re-settlement of deserted and impoverished parts of its own territories may not bring to its coffers a direct

return which would reimburse it fully for its expenditure ; but the indirect enrichment of its resources more than compensates it for any apparent and immediate loss. The individual can rarely afford to wait, a State can : the individual must judge of the success of his enterprise by the testimony given for it by his bank-book ; a State keeps many ledgers not all in ink, and when we wish to judge of the advantage derived by a country from a costly experiment we must examine all those books before we venture to pronounce judgment.

Any man who has crossed and recrossed this country from north to south and east to west must have been perplexed at finding there was so much waste and wilderness possible in such a crowded little island. There are millions of acres in this country which are more stripped and sterile than they were, and providing a living for fewer people than they did even a thousand years ago—acres which abroad would either be clad in profitable trees or be brought even to a higher state of cultivation. We want to do more in the way of developing the resources of our own country. There is much to be done for the resettlement of neglected and forgotten areas in Britain. We have been spending for the last two or three years £200,000 to £300,000 a year upon work which I would not like to discourage. I have no doubt that it has relieved a great deal of distress, and that it is the best thing that could be done as a temporary shift and expedient, and all thanks and gratitude are due to the people who have devoted their time, leisure and labour in expending the money in the most profitable way possible, but still it is a wasteful expenditure.

Sometimes I have no doubt some good is done, but it is wasteful whenever you create work for the sake of creating it. We think that the money could be spent much more usefully and profitably and with better direction, so long as we take a wider view of our responsibility in this matter.

This brings me straight to the question of afforestation. There is a very general agreement that some steps should be taken in this direction—I will not say of afforesting, but of reafforesting the waste lands of this country. Here, again, we are far behind every other civilised country in the world. I have figures here on this point which are very interesting. In Germany, for instance, out of a total area of 133,000,000 acres, 34,000,000,or nearly 26 per cent., are wooded ; in France, out of 130,000,000 acres, 17 per cent. ; even in a small and densely populated country such as Belgium, 1,260,000 acres are wooded, or 17 per cent. out of a total area of 7,280,000 acres. Again, in the Netherlands and Denmark, out of total areas of 8,000,000 and 9,500,000 acres respectively, over 600,000 acres, or between 7 and 8 per cent., are wooded. In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, out of 77,000,000 acres, only 3,000,000, or 4 per cent., are under wood.

Sir Herbert Maxwell, who has made a study of this question for a good many years, and whose moderation of statement is beyond challenge, estimates that in 1906, " eight millions were paid annually in salaries for the administration, formation and preservation of German forests, representing the maintenance of about 200,000 families, or about one million souls," and that, " in working of the raw material

yielded by the forests, wages were earned annually to the amount of thirty millions sterling, maintaining about 600,000 families or three million souls."

Anyone who will take the trouble to search out the Census Returns will find out that the number of people directly employed in forest work in this country is only 16,000. And yet the soil and the climate of this country are just as well adapted for the growth of marketable trees as that of the States of Germany. I am disposed to agree with those who contend that afforestation is not particularly well adapted to the provision of employment on any large scale for the kind of labourer who is thrown out of work by the fluctuations of trade in the towns, and that its real utility will be rather found "in the extension of the area of employment." It will be serviceable in providing employment in the rural districts during that inclement season of the year when work is least abundant. It would also afford an excellent adjunct to a system of small holdings and allotments.

Recently we have been favoured with a striking Report of a Royal Commission very ably presided over by my hon. friend the Member for Cardiff. A perusal of the names attached to that Report will secure for it respectful and favourable consideration. It outlines a very comprehensive and far-reaching scheme for planting the wastes of this country. The systematic operation which the Commission recommend is a gigantic one, and before the Government can commit themselves to it in all its details, it will require very careful consideration by a body of experts skilled in forestry. I am informed by men

whom I have consulted, and whose opinion on this subject I highly value, that there is a good deal of preliminary work which ought to be undertaken in this country before the Government could safely begin planting on the large scale indicated in that Report. I am told that experiments ought to be made, so as to test thoroughly the varying conditions of climate and soil, and the best kind of trees and methods of planting to meet those variations. I am also told that we cannot command the services in this country of a sufficient number of skilled foresters to direct planting. I am advised, and personally I am disposed to accept that counsel as the advice of prudence, that the greater haste in this matter will mean the less speed, and that to rush into planting on a huge scale, without first of all making the necessary experiments, organising a trained body of foresters, and taking all other essential steps to secure success when you advance, would be to court disaster, which might discourage future attempts.

I will tell the Committee how I propose that this subject should be dealt with ; but before I do so, I have something more to say about proposals for aiding in the development of the resources of our own country. The State can help by instruction, by experiment, by organisation, by direction and even, in certain cases which are outside the legitimate sphere of individual enterprise, by incurring direct responsibility. I doubt whether there is a great industrial country in the world which spends less money on work directly concerned with the development of its resources than we do. Take, if you like, and purely as an illustration, one industry alone—agriculture—of all industries

the most important for the permanent well-being of any land. Examine the Budgets of foreign countries—we have the advantage in other directions—but examine and compare them with our own, and hon. Members will be rather ashamed at the contrast between the wise and lavish generosity of countries much poorer than ours, and the short-sighted and niggardly parsimony with which we dole out small sums of money for the encouragement of agriculture in our country.

We are not getting out of the land anything like what it is capable of endowing us with. Of the enormous quantity of agricultural and dairy produce and fruit, and of the timber which is imported into this country, a considerable portion could be raised on our own lands. There hon. Members opposite and ourselves will agree. The only difference is as to the remedy. In our opinion, the remedy which they suggest would make food costlier and more inaccessible for the people ; the remedies which we propose, on the other hand, would make food more abundant, better and cheaper. What is it we propose ?

There is a certain amount of money—not very much—spent in this country in a spasmodic kind of way on what I call the work of national development—in light railways, in harbours, in indirect but very meagre assistance to agriculture. I propose to gather all these grants together into one Development Grant, and to put in this year an additional sum of £200,000. Legislation will have to be introduced, and I will then explain the methods of administration and the objects in greater detail, but the grant will be utilised in the promoting of schemes which have for their

purpose the development of the resources of the country. It will include such objects as the institution of schools of forestry, the purchase and preparation of land for afforestation, the setting up of a number of experimental forests on a large scale, expenditure upon scientific research in the interests of agriculture, experimental farms, the improvement of stock—as to which there have been a great many demands from people engaged in agriculture, the equipment of agencies for disseminating agricultural instruction, the encouragement and promotion of rural transport so as to make markets more accessible, the facilitation of all well-considered schemes and measures for attracting labour back to the land by small holdings or reclamation of wastes. Every acre of land brought into cultivation, every acre of cultivated land brought into a higher state of cultivation, means more labour of a healthy and productive character. It means more abundant food—cheaper and better food for the people. The sum which I propose to set aside for these large and diverse purposes may seem disproportionate, especially as a good deal of capital expenditure will necessarily be invested in the carrying out more especially of the experiments. For the purpose of afforestation schemes, at any rate at the earlier stages, when the expenditure will be particularly heavy, I propose that borrowing powers should be conferred upon the Commission directing the distribution of the grant, though I intend to avoid the necessity of resort to loans in connection with the capital expenditure required for other parts of the scheme.

Mr. John Redmond : Does this include Ireland ?

Mr. Lloyd George : Oh yes, I should hope to retain a great deal of money spent in Ireland for the purposes of which I have spoken. I should hope to attain this end by what may at first sight appear a proposal of more drastic character. Hitherto all surpluses due either to unexpected accessions to the revenue or savings upon the Estimates have passed automatically into the old Sinking Fund for the liquidation of debt. I propose that all these unanticipated accretions and economies shall in future pass into the Development Fund, so as to constitute a reserve for the purpose of money spent on the recommendations of the Commissioners, but under the direction of Parliament on such objects as I have too compendiously sketched. The days of surpluses are not quite gone, and I sincerely hope, although the omens are for the moment bad, that the days of economising in public Departments are not over. Last year the various Departments saved over two millions, and I feel confident that we shall not look in vain for a similar spirit of cautious and conscientious dealing with public money in the course of the coming years.

We have more especially during the last sixty years in this country accumulated wealth to an extent which is almost unparalleled in the history of the world, but we have done it at an appalling waste of human material. We have drawn upon the robust vitality of the rural areas of Great Britain, and especially of Ireland, and spent its energies recklessly in the devitalising atmosphere of urban factories and workshops as if the supply were inexhaustible. We are now beginning to realise that we have been spending our capital, and at a disastrous rate, and it is time

we should make a real concerted, national effort to replenish it. I put forward this proposal, not a very extravagant one, as a beginning.

It would be better that I should in this connection inform the House of another project which I shall have to submit in detail to its judgment later on in the course of the Session, but as it involves a substantial addition to the financial burdens of the year I have to outline its general character in my Budget statement. It also has an indirect, but important bearing on the question of providing useful and not purposeless employment in times of depression. I propose that a beginning should be made this year with a scheme for dealing with the new, but increasingly troublesome, problem of motor traffic in this country. We are far ahead of all other European countries in the number of motor vehicles upon our roads. We have at least three times as many as France and more than four times as many as Germany. And I am informed by those best able to judge, that to-day among the products of our factories are some of the best cars procurable in the world, both as regards the comparative perfection of the more costly vehicles and the value given for the prices asked for those designed for popular use.

I therefore look forward to a great future for this industry, and I am the last to wish to hinder its development or be responsible for proposals which would be in any way hostile to its interests. Quite the reverse. I am anxious to be helpful to its growth and prosperity. But I cannot help feeling that this problem is urgent, and calls for immediate attention. Any man who takes the trouble to consider the damage

which is done to the roads of this country, often by men who do not contribute—or perhaps I ought to put it another way, who have not been given the opportunity of contributing to the upkeep of the roads they help so effectively to tear up—the consequent rapid increase in the expense of road maintenance, the damage done, if not to agriculture, at least to the amenities of rural life by the dust clouds which follow in the wake of these vehicles, above all, the appalling list of casualties to innocent pedestrians, especially to children, must come to the conclusion that this is a question which demands immediate notice at the hands of the Central Government. The question of road construction, which was at one time deemed to be part of the essential development of the country, seemed to have been almost finally disposed of by the railways, but the advent of the motor has once more brought it to the front. It is quite clear that our present system of roads and of road-making is inadequate for the demands which are increasingly made upon it by the new form of traction. Roads are too narrow, corners are too frequent and too sharp, high hedges have their dangers, and the old metalling, admirably suited as it was to the vehicles we were accustomed to, is utterly unfitted for the motor-car.

If there be any truth at all in Ruskin's sweeping assertion that "all social progress resolves itself into the making of new roads," it must be admitted that we have been lamentably deficient. The State has for a very long period done nothing at all for our roads. I believe that no main road has been made out of London for eighty years. We have no central road authority. The roads of England and Wales are

administered by 30 metropolitan borough councils (including the London County Council and City of London), 61 county councils, 326 county and non-county borough councils, and 1,479 urban and rural district councils. The great North Road, our greatest historic and national highway from London to Carlisle, is under no fewer than 72 authorities, of whom 46 are actually engaged in maintaining it. Among those are such authorities as the Kirklington Urban District Council, which controls one mile, and the Thirsk Rural District Council, which is responsible for 1 mile, 1,120 yards in one place and 2 miles, 200 yards in another ! Both the general public and motorists are crying out for something to be done, and we propose to make a real start. How the funds will be raised for the purpose it will be my duty later on to explain ; the only indication I shall give now is that the brunt of the expense at the beginning must be borne by motorists, and to do them justice they are willing, and even anxious, to subscribe handsomely towards such a purpose, so long as a guarantee is given in the method and control of the expenditure that the funds so raised will not merely be devoted exclusively to the improvement of the roads, but that they will be well and wisely spent for that end. For that reason we propose that the money shall be placed at the disposal of a central authority, who will make grants to local authorities, for the purpose of carrying out well planned schemes which they have approved for widening roads, for straightening them, for making deviations round villages, for allaying the dust nuisance, and I should also propose that power should be given to this central authority to set aside a portion of the

money so raised for constructing where they think it necessary and desirable, absolutely new roads. Power will be given them not merely to acquire land for that purpose, but also for the acquisition of rights over adjoining lands, which will enable them eventually to bring into being new sources of revenue by taking full advantage of the increment and other benefits derived from the new easements they will be creating for the public.

House of Commons. April 29, 1909.

Limehouse Speech

A few months ago a meeting was held not far from this hall in the heart of the City of London, demanding that the Government should launch into enormous expenditure on the Navy. That meeting ended up with a resolution promising that those who passed that resolution would give financial support to the Government in their undertaking. There have been two or three meetings held in the City of London since, attended by the same class of people but not ending up with a resolution promising to pay. On the contrary, we are spending the money, but they won't pay. What has happened since to alter their tone? Simply that we have sent in the bill. We started our four Dreadnoughts. They cost eight millions of money. We promised them four more. They cost another eight millions. Somebody has got to pay; and then these gentlemen say: "Perfectly true; somebody has got to pay but we would rather that somebody were somebody else." We started

building ; we wanted money to pay for the building ; so we sent the hat round. We sent it round amongst the workmen and winders of Derbyshire and Yorkshire, the weavers of High Peak and the Scotsmen of Dumfries who, like all their countrymen, know the value of money. They all dropped in their coppers. We went round Belgravia ; and there has been such a howl ever since that it has completely deafened us.

But they say " It is not so much the Dreadnoughts we object to ; it is Pensions." If they objected to Pensions, why did they promise them ? They won elections on the strength of their promises. It is true they never carried them out. Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all. But they say, " When we promised Pensions, we meant Pensions at the expense of the people for whom they were provided. We simply meant to bring in a Bill to compel workmen to contribute to their own Pensions." If that is what they meant why did they not say so ? The Budget, as your Chairman has already so well reminded you, is introduced not merely for the purpose of raising barren taxes, but taxes that are fertile, taxes that will bring forth fruit—the security of the country which is paramount in the minds of all. The provision for the aged and deserving poor—it was time it was done. It is rather a shame for a rich country like ours—probably the richest in the world, if not the richest the world has ever seen, that it should allow those who have toiled all their days to end in penury and possibly starvation. It is rather hard that an old workman should have to find his way to the gates of the tomb, bleeding and footsore, through the brambles and

thorns of poverty. We cut a new path for him, an easier one, a pleasanter one, through fields of waving corn. We are raising money to pay for the new road, aye, and to widen it, so that 200,000 paupers shall be able to join in the march. There are so many in the country blessed by Providence with great wealth, and if there are amongst them men who grudge out of their riches a fair contribution towards the less fortunate of their fellow-countrymen they are very shabby rich men. We propose to do more by means of the Budget. We are raising money to provide against the evils and the sufferings that follow from unemployment. We are raising money for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick and the widows and orphans. We are providing money to enable us to develop the resources of our own land. I do not believe any fair-minded man would challenge the justice and the fairness of the objects which we have in view in raising this money.

But there are some of them who say, "The taxes themselves are unjust, unfair, unequal, oppressive—notably so the land taxes." They are engaged, not merely in the House of Commons, but outside the House of Commons, in assailing these taxes with a concentrated and a sustained ferocity which will not allow even a comma to escape with its life. Now, are these taxes really so wicked? Let us examine them; because it is perfectly clear that the one part of the Budget that attracts all the hostility and animosity is that part which deals with the taxation of land. Well, now let us examine it. I do not want you to consider merely abstract principles. I want to invite your

attention to a number of concrete cases ; fair samples to show you how in these concrete illustrations our Budget proposals work. Now let us take them. Let us take first of all the tax on undeveloped land and on increment.

Not far from here, not so many years ago, between the Lea and the Thames you had hundreds of acres of land which was not very useful even for agricultural purposes. In the main it was a sodden marsh. The commerce and the trade of London increased under Free Trade, the tonnage of your shipping went up by hundreds of thousands of tons and by millions ; labour was attracted from all parts of the country to cope with all this trade and business which was done here. What happened ? There was no housing accommodation. This Port of London became overcrowded, and the population overflowed. That was the opportunity of the owners of the marsh. All that land became valuable building land, and land which used to be rented at £2 or £3 an acre has been selling within the last few years at £2,000 an acre, £3,000 an acre, £6,000 an acre, £8,000 an acre. Who created that increment ? Who made that golden swamp ? Was it the landlord ? Was it his energy ? Was it his brains—a very bad look out for the place if it were—his forethought ? It was purely the combined efforts of all the people engaged in the trade and commerce of the Port of London—trader, merchant, shipowner, dock labourer, workman, everybody except the landlord. Now, you follow that transaction. Land worth £2 or £3 an acre running up to thousands. During the time it was ripening the landlord was paying his rates and taxes, not on £2 or £3 an acre.

It was agricultural land, and because it was agricultural land a munificent Tory Government voted a sum of two millions to pay half the rates of those poor distressed landlords, and you and I had to pay taxes in order to enable those landlords to pay half their rates on agricultural land, while it was going up every year by hundreds of pounds through your efforts and the efforts of your neighbours. Well, now, that is coming to an end. On the walls of Mr. Balfour's meeting last Friday were the words : "We protest against fraud and folly." So do I. These things I am going to tell you of have only been possible up to the present through the fraud of the few and the folly of the many.

Now, what is going to happen in the future? In future those landlords will have to contribute to the taxation of the country on the basis of the real value —only one halfpenny in the pound! Only a halfpenny! And that is what all the howling is about. But there is another little tax called the increment tax. For the future what will happen? We mean to value all the land in the kingdom. And here you can draw no distinction between agricultural land and other land, for the simple reason that East and West Ham was agricultural land a few years ago! And if land goes up in the future by hundreds and thousands an acre through the efforts of the community, the communi y will get 20 per cent. of that increment. Ah! What a misfortune it is that there was not a Chancellor of the Exchequer who did this thirty years ago. Only thirty years ago, and we should now be enjoying an abundant revenue from this source.

Now I have given you West Ham. Let me give you a few more cases. Take cases like Golder's Green and other cases of a similar kind where the value of land has gone up in the course, perhaps, of a couple of years through a new tramway or a new railway being opened. Golder's Green is a case in point. A few years ago there was a plot of land there which was sold at £160. Last year I went and opened a Tube railway there. What was the result? This year that very piece of land has been sold for £2,100 —£160 before the railway was opened—before I was there—£2,100 now. I am entitled to 20 per cent. Now there are many cases where landlords take advantage of the exigencies of commerce and of industry—take advantage of the needs of municipalities and even of national needs and of the monopoly which they have got in land in a particular neighbourhood in order to demand extortionate prices. Take the very well known case of the Duke of Northumberland when a County Council wanted to buy a small plot of land as a site for a school to train the children who in due course would become the men labouring on his property. The rent was quite an insignificant thing. His contribution to the rates—I forget—I think it was on the basis of 30s. an acre. What did he demand for it for a school?—£900 an acre. All we say is this—Mr. Buxton and I say—if it is worth £900, let him pay taxes on £900.

There are several of these cases that I want to give to you. Take the town of Bootle, a town created very much in the same way as these towns in the East of London—purely by the commerce of Liverpool. In 1879, the rates of Bootle were £9,000 a

year—the ground rents were £10,000—so that the landlord was receiving more from the industry of the community than all the rates derived by the municipality for the benefit of the town. In 1898 the rates had gone up to £94,000 a year—for improving the place, constructing roads, laying out parks and extending lighting and opening up the place. But the ground landlord was receiving in ground rents £100,000. It is time that he should pay for this value. A case was given me from Richmond which is very interesting. The Town Council of Richmond recently built some workmen's cottages under a housing scheme. The land appeared on the rate-book as of the value of £4, and being agricultural the landlord paid only half the rates, and you and I paid the rest for him. It is situated on the extreme edge of the borough, therefore not very accessible, and the Town Council naturally thought they would get it cheap. But they did not know their landlord. They had to pay £2,000 an acre for it. The result is that instead of having a good housing scheme with plenty of gardens and open space, plenty of breathing space, plenty of room for the workmen at the end of their days, forty cottages had to be crowded on two acres. Now if the land had been valued at its true value, that landlord would have been at any rate contributing his fair share of the public revenue, and it is just conceivable that he might have been driven to sell at a more reasonable price.

I do not want to weary you with these cases. But I could give you many. I am a member of a Welsh County Council, and landlords even in Wales are not more reasonable. The police committee the other

day wanted a site for a police station. Well, you might have imagined that if a landlord sold land cheaply for anything it would have been for a police station. The housing of the working classes—that is a different matter. But a police station means security for property. Not at all. The total population of Carnarvonshire is not as much—I am not sure it is as great—as the population of Limehouse alone. It is a scattered area ; no great crowded populations there. And yet they demanded for a piece of land which was contributing 2s. a year to the rates, £2,500 an acre ! All we say is, " If their land is as valuable as all that, let it have the same value in the assessment book as it seems to possess in the auction-room." There are no end of these cases.

There was a case from Greenock the other day. The Admiralty wanted a torpedo range. Here was an opportunity for patriotism ! These are the men who want an efficient Navy to protect our shores, and the Admiralty state that one element in efficiency is straight shooting, and say: " We want a range for practice for torpedoes on the coast of Scotland." There was a piece of land there. It was rated at something like £11 10s. a year. They went to the landlord—they had to pay for it—well now, just you guess, whilst I am finding it out. It had a rating value of £11 2s., and it was sold to the nation for £27,225. And these are the gentlemen who accuse us of robbery and spoliation ! Now all we say is this : " In future you must pay one halfpenny in the pound on the real value of your land. In addition to that, if the value goes up—not owing to your efforts—if you spend money on improving it

we will give you credit for it—but if it goes up owing to the industry and the energy of the people living in that locality, one-fifth of that increment shall in future be taken as a toll by the State." They say : "Why should you tax this increment on landlords and not on other classes of the community ?" They say : "You are taxing the landlord because the value of his property is going up through the growth of population, through the increased prosperity of the community. Does not the value of a doctor's business go up in the same way ?"

Ah, fancy their comparing themselves for a moment ! What is the landlord's increment ? Who is the landlord ? The landlord is a gentleman—I have not a word to say about him in his personal capacity—the landlord is a gentleman who does not earn his wealth. He does not even take the trouble to receive his wealth. He has a host of agents and clerks to receive it for him. He does not even take the trouble to spend his wealth. He has a host of people around him to do the actual spending for him. He never sees it until he comes to enjoy it. His sole function, his chief pride, is stately consumption of wealth produced by others. What about the doctor's income ? How does the doctor earn his income ? The doctor is a man who visits our homes when they are darkened with the shadow of death : who, by his skill, his trained courage, his genius, wrings hope out of the grip of despair, wins life out of the fangs of the Great Destroyer. All blessings upon him and his divine art of healing that mends bruised bodies and anxious hearts. To compare the reward which he gets for that labour with the wealth which

pours into the pockets of the landlord purely owing to the possession of his monopoly is a piece—if they will forgive me saying so—of insolence which no intelligent man would tolerate. Now that is the halfpenny tax on unearned increment.

Now I come to the reversion tax. What is the reversion tax? You have got a system in the country which is not tolerated in any other country of the world, except, I believe, Turkey; the system whereby landlords take advantage of the fact that they have got complete control over the land to let it for a term of years, spend money upon it in building, in developing it. You improve the building, and year by year the value passes into the pockets of the landlord, and at the end of sixty, seventy, eighty or ninety years the whole of it passes away to the pockets of a man who never spent a penny upon it. In Scotland they have a system of nine hundred and ninety-nine years' lease. The Scotsmen have a very shrewd idea that at the end of nine hundred and ninety-nine years there will probably be a better land system in existence, and they are prepared to take their chance of the millennium coming round by that time. But in this country we have sixty years' leases. I know districts—quarry districts—in Wales where a little bit of barren rock where you could not feed a goat, where the landlord could not get a shilling an acre for agricultural rent, is let to quarrymen for the purpose of building houses, where 30s. or £2 a house is charged for ground rent. The quarryman builds his house. He goes to a building society to borrow money. He pays out of his hard-earned weekly wage contributions to the building society for ten,

twenty or thirty years. By the time he becomes an old man he has cleared off the mortgage, and more than half the value of the house has passed into the pockets of the landlord. You have got cases in London here. There is the famous Gorringe case. In that case advantage was taken of the fact that a man has built up a great business, and they say : "Here you are, you have built up a great business, you cannot take it away ; you cannot move to other premises because your trade and goodwill are here ; your lease is coming to an end, and we decline to renew it except on the most oppressive terms." The Gorringe case is a very famous case. It was the case of the Duke of Westminster. Oh, these dukes, how they harass us ! Mr. Gorringe had got a lease of the premises at a few hundred pounds a year ground rent. He built up a great business there. He was a very able business man, and when the end of the lease came he went to the Duke of Westminster, and he said: "Will you renew my lease? I want to carry on my business here." He said: "Oh yes, I will ; but I will do it on condition that the few hundreds a year you pay for ground rent shall in the future be £4,000 a year." In addition to that, he had to pay a fine—a fine, mind you !—of £50,000, and he had to build up huge premises at enormous expense according to plans submitted to the Duke of Westminster. All I can say is this—if it is confiscation and robbery for us to say to that duke, being in need of money for public purposes, we will take 10 per cent. of all you have got, for that purpose, what would you call *his* taking nine-tenths from Mr. Gorringe ? These are the cases we have got to deal

with. Look at all this leasehold system. This system—it is the system I am attacking, not individuals—is not business, it is blackmail. I have no doubt some of you have taken the trouble to peruse some of those leases, and they are really worth reading, and I will guarantee that if you circulate copies of some of these building and mining leases at Tariff Reform meetings, and if you can get workmen at those meetings and the business men to read them, they will come away sadder but much wiser men. What are they? Ground rent is a part of it—fines, fees; you are to make no alteration without somebody's consent. Who is that somebody? It is the agent of the landlord. A fee to him. You must submit the plans to the landlord's architect and get his consent. There is a fee to him. There is a fee to the surveyor; and then, of course, you cannot keep the lawyer out—he always comes in. And a fee to him. Well, that is the system, and the landlords come to us in the House of Commons and they say: "If you go on taxing reversions we will grant no more leases?" Is not that horrible? No more leases! No more kindly landlords with all their retinue of good fairies—agents, surveyors, lawyers—ready always to receive ground rents, fees, premiums, fines, reversions—no more, never again! They will not do it. We cannot persuade them. They won't have it. The landlord has threatened us that if we proceed with the Budget he will take his sack clean away from the hopper, and the grain which we are all grinding our best to fill his sack will go into our own. Oh, I cannot believe it. There is a limit even to the wrath of outraged landlords. We must

really appease them ; we must offer up some sacrifice to them. Suppose we offer the House of Lords to them ? Well, you seem rather to agree with that. I will make the suggestion to them.

Now, unless I am wearying you, I have just one other land tax, and that is a tax on royalties. The landlords are receiving eight millions a year by way of royalties. What for ? They never deposited the coal there. It was not they who planted these great granite rocks in Wales, who laid the foundations of the mountains. Was it the landlord ? And yet he, by some divine right, demands as his toll—for merely the right for men to risk their lives in hewing these rocks—eight millions a year. Take any coalfield. I went down to a coalfield the other day, and they pointed out to me many collieries there. They said : "You see that colliery there. The first man who went there spent a quarter of a million in sinking shafts, in driving mains and levels. He never got coal, and he lost his quarter of a million. The second man who came spent £100,000—and he failed. The third man came along, and he got the coal." What was the landlord doing in the meantime ? The first man failed ; but the landlord got his royalty, the landlord got his dead-rent—and a very good name for it. The second man failed, but the landlord got his royalty. These capitalists put their money in, and I said : "When the cash failed what did the landlord put in ?" He simply put in the bailiffs. The capitalist risks, at any rate, the whole of his money ; the engineer puts his brains in ; the miner risks his life. I was telling you I went down a coal-mine the other day. We sank into a pit half a mile

deep. We then walked underneath the mountain, and we did about three-quarters of a mile with rock and shale above us. The earth seemed to be straining —around us and above us—to crush us in. You could see the pit-props bent and twisted and sundered until you saw their fibres split in resisting the pressure. Sometimes they give way, and then there is mutilation and death. Often a spark ignites, the whole pit is deluged in fire, and the breath of life is scorched out of hundreds of breasts by the consuming flame. In the very next colliery to the one I descended just a few years ago three hundred people lost their lives in that way. And yet when the Prime Minister and I knock at the door of these great landlords, and say to them: "Here, you know these poor fellows who have been digging up royalties at the risk of their lives, some of them are old, they have survived the perils of their trade, they are broken, they can earn no more. Won't you give them something towards keeping them out of the workhouse?" they scowl at us, and we say: "Only a ha'penny, just a copper." They say: "You thieves!" And they turn their dogs on to us, and you can hear their bark every morning. If this is an indication of the view taken by these great landlords of their responsibility to the people who at the risk of life create their wealth, then I say their day of reckoning is at hand.

The other day at the great Tory meeting held at the Cannon Street Hotel they had blazoned on the walls, "We protest against the Budget in the name of democracy, liberty and justice." Where does the democracy come in in this landed system? Where

is the liberty in our leasehold system? Where is the seat of justice in all these transactions?

I claim that the tax we impose on land is fair, is just and is moderate. They go on threatening that if we proceed, they will cut down their benefactions and discharge labour. What kind of labour? What is the labour they are going to choose for dismissal? Are they going to threaten to devastate rural England by feeding and dressing themselves? Are they going to reduce their gamekeepers? Ah, that would be sad! The agricultural labourer and the farmer might then have some part of the game which they fatten with their labour. But what would happen to you in the season? No week-end shooting with the Duke of Norfolk or anyone. But that is not the kind of labour they are going to cut down. They are going to cut down productive labour—their builders and their gardeners—and they are going to ruin their property so that it shall not be taxed. All I can say is this—the ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship. It has been reckoned as such in the past; and if they cease to discharge their functions, the security and defence of the country, looking after the broken in their villages and in their neighbourhoods—then these functions which are part of the traditional duties attached to the ownership of land, and which have given to it its title—if they cease to discharge those functions, the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which the land is held in this country. No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform since the

beginning. And, therefore, it is one of the prime duties of statesmanship to investigate those conditions. But I do not believe it. They have threatened and menaced like that before. They have seen it is not to their interest to carry out these futile menaces. They are now protesting against paying their fair share of the taxation of the land, and they are doing so by saying : " You are burdening industry ; you are putting burdens upon the people which they cannot bear." Ah ! They are not thinking of themselves. Noble souls ! It is not the great dukes they are feeling for, it is the market gardener, it is the builder ; and it was, until recently, the small-holder. In every debate in the House of Commons they said : " We are not worrying for ourselves. We can afford it with our broad acres ; but just think of the little man who has only got a few acres." And we were so very impressed with this tearful appeal that at last we said : " We will leave him out." And I almost expected to see Mr. Pretyman jump over the table when I said it, fall on my neck and embrace me. Instead of that he stiffened up, his face wreathed with anger, and he said : " The Budget is more unjust than ever."

We are placing burdens on the broadest shoulders. Why should I put burdens on the people ? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials ; and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxieties which they bear with such patience and fortitude. When the Prime Minister did me the honour of inviting me to take charge of the National Exchequer at a time of great difficulty, I made up

my mind, in framing the Budget which was in front of me, that at any rate no cupboard should be barer, no lot would be harder. By that test I challenge them to judge the Budget.

Limehouse. July 30, 1909.

Newcastle Speech

A Minister in charge of a great Bill has no time to prepare speeches, and I have not come here to deliver a speech. I have just come here for a plain, straight talk about the Budget, the opposition to it, and the prospects of both. It is six years since I had the privilege of addressing a gathering in this theatre, and I have some recollection that then I dwelt upon the great burden imposed upon industry by ground landlords and royalty owners. I then mildly suggested that it was about time they should contribute something out of their wealth towards the necessities of the State. I come here to-day, six years afterwards, to tell you it will be done, and in a few years. The Bill is through all its most troublesome stages, and it has emerged out of its forty days and forty nights in the wilderness rather strengthened and improved. We have made alterations and modifications. You cannot apply any great principle or set of principles without necessary hardships. We have done our best to meet every hard case that was presented to us, done our best, and done it amidst the taunts of the very people who pressed those cases upon us. . . .

Although we have made alterations and modifications, the Bill in its main structure remains. All the taxes are there. The Land Taxes are there, and the Super Tax is there. The poor fellows who are receiving only £5,000 a year and £10,000 and £20,000 a year will have to contribute just a little towards the expenses of the country, and then the poor man to whom somebody has left a fortune will have to contribute a little more. All these taxes remain, as they necessarily must, because after all, when you order Dreadnoughts, a respectable country like this must pay for them. I have told you that all the taxes remain. There has been one alteration in the form of one tax. I refer to mineral rights. When we taxed mineral rights they said, "We do not object to pay the tax; all we object to is the form of the tax."

Well, I said, it was not the form I cared so much for as the substance, and I was quite prepared to accommodate them. I did not want an uncertain tax, and they said that so long as the tax was a certain one they preferred paying more. Well, I said, I was prepared to meet them. I said the present uncertain tax will produce £175,000; so I altered it to a tax on mining royalties, which was certain and produced £350,000. They are not a bit better pleased. You cannot satisfy some people, although I made that substantial concession to them. We are through the Committee stage, we are through the last stage where the substance of the Bill can be modified. The Committee stage is the stage for the axe and the chisel and the plane; the Report stage is the stage for the sandpaper, just to alter the drafting, but the substance remains. So you see the Bill

practically in the form in which it is going to become an Act of Parliament.

With your permission, I will proceed to examine the main objection to my proposals, and I may have to make some draft on your patience.

What is the chief charge against the Budget by its opponents? That it is an attack on industry and an attack on property. I am going to demonstrate to you that it is neither. It is very remarkable that since this attack on industry was first promulgated in the House of Common, strade has improved. It is beginning to recover from the great crash which first of all came from America, the country of high tariffs, and it has improved steadily. It has not quite recovered—the operation will take some time—but it is better. Industries which were having losses last year are beginning to make profits this year. The imports and the exports have gone up during the last few months by millions. Industrial investments have been steady, and there has been on the whole an improvement even in Brewery shares. Only one stock has gone down badly; there has been a great slump in dukes. They used to stand rather high in the market, especially in the Tory market, but the Tory Press has discovered that they are of no value. They have been making speeches recently. One especially expensive duke made a speech, and all the Tory Press said: "Really, is that the sort of thing we are spending £250,000 a year upon?"—because a fully-equipped duke costs as much to keep up as two Dreadnoughts; and dukes are just as great a terror and they last longer. As long as they were content to be mere idols on their pedestals, preserving

that stately silence which became their rank and their intelligence, all went well, and the average British citizen rather looked up to them and said to himself: "Well, if the worst comes to the worst for this old country, we have always the dukes to fall back on." But then came the Budget; they stepped off their perch; they have been scolding like omnibus-drivers, purely because the Budget cart has knocked a little of the gilt off their old stage coach. That is the only property that has gone down badly in the market; all the rest has improved. The prospects of trade are better. Why should Liberalism be supposed to be ready to attack property? After all they forget this—I lay it down as a proposition—that most of the people who work hard for a living in the country belong to the Liberal Party. I would say and think, without offence, that most of the people who never worked for a living at all belong to the Tory Party. Whenever you go across country, you see men building up trade and businesses, some small, some great, by their industry, by their skill, by their energy, by their enterprise, not merely maintaining themselves and their families, but putting something by for evil days. Not all of them, but hundreds of thousands of them, belong to the Liberal Party.

There are many ways of advancing a cause, but I think the very worst I ever heard of is angering a great audience like this. If you came to the House of Commons you might imagine that all the men who had anything to lose were on the Tory side of the House, and that the men who had nothing to lose all sit on the Liberal side, whilst as a matter of fact the richest men in the House of Commons happen to sit

on the Liberal side of the House. Yet we are told that they are all engaged at the present moment in destroying property and industry and riches. Why are they engaged in the operation? And let me say this about these men—you will find these rich men in the House of Commons sitting up night after night, risking health, some of them advanced in years —and what for? To pass a measure which taxes them to the extent of hundreds, maybe thousands of pounds a year. All honour to them. That is the kind of rich man one honours, who is prepared to make sacrifices. Therefore you may take it from me that the Liberal Party is not a party that is likely to engage in a mere wanton war upon industry, and upon property in this country. All we ask for is that wealth shall pay its fair share. We are simply seeking to establish in an Act of Parliament a very old friend and honoured fiscal principle, that men should contribute to the needs of the State as God has prospered them.

But why should there be all this anger, all this fury against the Budget? I will tell you. There are two classes who really object to the Budget. The first are those who are seeking to establish a complete change in the fiscal system of this country, to tax food; and they know that once this Budget is through, there is an end to their desired opportunity. The tax will be on the right shoulders, and they cannot shift it. There is a second and I think a most powerful class, who are the great landlords of this country. Why do they object? Why are they angrier about the land taxes than about any part of the Budget? We are raising this year 11 or 12 millions of money

out of the taxation. We shall probably raise next year something approaching 20 millions by the same taxation. And yet the land taxes this year only produce £650,000. Why then all this anger about these taxes? I will tell you. The first reason is that they are taxes that will grow. They only start at £650,000, but year by year they are bound to grow. The increment duty will grow, the reversion duty will grow, the mineral duties will grow, the increment duty is bound to grow with the growth of the prosperity of this country, and that is a certainty. As you get advance in science and education, it strengthens and develops the intelligence of the people and directs it; as you get advance in international ideas about peace, so that the wealth which is produced by the industry and the people is allowed to accumulate and the harvest is not trampled down by the ravages of war, the prosperity of Britain is assured and growth of the prosperity is assured. As it grows, the value of land taxes will grow, and not merely are the riches in this country growing, but there are more rich people year by year. Wealth is getting better distributed, and when a man acquires wealth he wants not merely better housing accommodation, but more elbow room, more land for recreation purposes, as well as for adornment. And it is not merely the wealthier sections of the community, the working classes are demanding better homes too. They are not satisfied with the dull, grey street of the past. They don't claim palaces, but they are tired of "Walbottles."*

* *Walbottle*.—The atrocious slum conditions of the Duke of Northumberland's property at Walbottle had recently secured an

They are not satisfied with promises merely that the housing problem will be settled for them on the other side of the valley, because they have observed that some of the people who insist most on that are also people who choose the best sites on this side of the valley. They are asking for more air, more light, more room, more verdure, more sunshine, to recruit energies exhausted in toil ; and they will get it. I believe this Budget will help them to get it. As these new fruitful ideas develop, more land will be required, and the more land you require, the more taxes will come from the Budget, and therefore these are taxes that will grow. This is one reason why they object to them. And that is not the chief objection.

The chief objection of great landlords to this Budget lies in the fact that it has great valuation proposals. Why do they object to valuation ? Because it goes to the very root of all things in the land question. There has never been a public undertaking

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unenviable notoriety. The following is an extract from *The Times* of October 4, 1909 :

"*A Duke's Cottages.*—At the Moot Hall Police Court, Newcastle, on Saturday, the Newburn Urban District Council asked for a closing order in respect of twenty-two houses at Walbottle belonging to the Duke of Northumberland as unfit for human habitation. Mr. Mundahl, for the Council, said that the houses, which were colliery houses, consisted of one room downstairs, with an attic above. In the majority of the cases the attics were totally unsuited for living in. The dwelling-rooms were back to back. . . . In many cases the floor levels were below the level of the street. For the last fifteen years the death rate in these houses had been twenty-six per thousand as against fifteen per thousand for the general average of the district. . . . The Bench made an order to close the whole of the houses."

in this country—municipal, State, or industrial —there has never been a commercial enterprise but the landlord has generally secured anything from four to forty times as much for the value of the land as its agricultural price. When I was at the Board of Trade I saw a good deal of it.

I recollect a number of cases that were brought before me of complaints from the trading community as to the oppressive character of the railway rates from every part of the country. From every kind of business and undertaking there was complaint that the heavy character of the railway rates was interfering with the success and prosperity of that particular business. I went into it very carefully in hundreds of these cases, and I found in the end that it was not the railway companies that were to blame ; they had had to pay for every yard of land they had used, and often fifty times its real value. Now what happens in the case of a railway company ? You may get a railway passing through a perfectly barren stretch of country, passing on its way between one great hive of industry and another, the land worthless, just a few shepherds' huts here and there, and an occasional stray mountain sheep. I don't suppose the land would be worth more than sixpence or a shilling an acre, but the railway company comes along and says : " We want to drive a railway through this wilderness." What happens ? The moment they ask for that land its value goes up enormously. Every trick and chicanery of the law—and there are many of them, as my brothers in law can testify— is exhausted in order to prove that this worthless land has enormous hidden value. The first thing

they say is, "What about the law of severance: what compensation are you going to pay for that? Here you are driving a railway right through this valley, you are separating that hill from this hill, they can never greet each other, they can never visit each other. What compensation do you pay for them? Damages, gentlemen, heavy damages for severance." What is the next thing they prove? I am now telling you the facts that were brought to my notice at a conference at the Board of Trade on this very question by the great railway managers of the kingdom. What is the next thing they have to pay for? The landlord says, "This valley is not much to look at, but do you know what it means? Look at its conformation; you could convert this into a valuable reservoir to supply water for the great cities hundreds of miles away." So you have to pay for that valley for the railway because you are destroying its market capacity as a reservoir. That is not all. They say: "Do you know there are minerals here?" If you propose to tax ungotten minerals, they say: "How can you find them out?" But when it is a question of getting paid for them they can bring you fifty surveyors and engineers and agents and experts and lawyers to prove to demonstration that every mineral in the dictionary is hidden in some obscure corner of the valley, and the damages mount up, and the compensation swells, and the railway rates increase. That is what happens. There is not a railway train—goods, baggage, or passenger—in which you have not at least one truck carrying interest on the excessive prices paid to the landlords. All this is a heavy burden upon industry at the present moment in this

country. You see where valuation comes in. It is not merely that municipalities if they want land for any public purpose—a school in which to train children, waterworks, gas, electricity, anything—they have to pay for it four times as much as its agricultural value to these great landlords. Start analysing the rates of any great city, and you will be surprised how much is attributable directly to the excessive prices paid by municipalities for land for purposes which are essential to the very life of the city, to the very life of a civilised community. Then what have we in trade, in business, in commerce, in industry? If you want to found a new business or to extend an old one, the charges for land are extravagant, especially if you want to extend, because you are there then. A trader in a particular locality who for years of care and industry and a good deal of anxiety and worry has been building up a business gradually, cannot carry his trade away as if it were a coster's barrow and plant it in the next street. He has to get his extension where he is, and then comes the landlord, who has done nothing, and demands the highest price he can possibly extort. I can give you many cases of the kind; I have my bag full of them, sent to me from all parts of the country, with full particulars. You see the value of State valuation. The State valuation for the first time places a perfectly impartial valuation upon all the land of the kingdom. It separates the value of the land intrinsically and the value which is attributable to expenditure by its owner. It thus, for the first time, forces the landlords to look at the value of land, not merely from the point of view of a receiver, but of a payer.

There is nothing like compelling a man to look at both sides of a question. That is really why they object to valuation. Whenever a great industry in the future requires land, it can always quote the State valuation in answer to any extortionate and extravagant demands put forward on behalf of the landlords, and therefore they object to it very strongly.

I should like to give you a few illustrations by way of showing to you how the new Budget taxes will work. I will take you first of all on a trip to my own country, which is quite interesting, I can assure you. Some of you may know the South Wales coalfield ; it is not so very long ago that it was a very wild, unproductive country, most of it common land. Landlords' Parliaments soon handed over the property to the great landlords when they discovered there was mineral value in it. At the present moment the South Wales coalfield pays a million and a half per annum in royalties to just a few landlords, and hundreds of thousands in ground-rents. Now let me give you just one or two figures which will show what is done there. You get first of all land, not very rich agricultural land, rather poor agricultural land, and they discover coal there. The landlord leases the property to somebody who has the necessary enterprise and capital for the purpose of development. The landlord does not himself sink any capital in these properties ; it is only in very rare exceptions that you find it ; there are just a few. Somebody else works the enterprise, somebody else faces the risk and the loss, and the landlord takes 6d. a ton in the way of royalties. Then you come to the surface. You must employ workmen for the purpose of carrying on your mining

operations, and the workmen must have homes; so they start building, and the landlord then says: "Certainly you may build; but you have got to pay a ground-rent." And there is land now leased in these valleys in South Wales for which, though even within living memory—it may be only a few years ago in some cases—it produced only a shilling an acre, the landlord is getting £30 and £40 per acre per annum simply for the permission to build a few cottages. They build on lease, and in about sixty years the whole of this land will fall into the landlord's hands. The Rhondda Valley is one of the best coal-fields in South Wales. In the year 1851 the total population of the valley was only a thousand; to-day the population is 132,000. The landlords receive annually £200,000 in royalties; they receive £30,000 a year in ground-rents. The colliery proprietors there pay in rates £54,000 a year; the landlords do not pay a penny. That is how the matter stands. They charge for the minerals, they charge for the surface; whenever land is wanted for waterworks they charge heavy prices for it; railways have to pay; and between all these charges industry is burdened and the landlords do not contribute a penny towards the heavy and growing rates of the district. Sir Christopher Furness the other day gave a case where one colliery alone paid, I think, £300,000 in ten years. I should like to know how much the landlord contributed towards the rates of the district. Probably not a penny, certainly not a penny of the £300,000. But the colliery company at the same time contributed heavily to the rates of the district. I know that is the case so far as South Wales is

concerned. A case was given to me for South Wales the other day of a company which had sunk a good deal of money in mining operations, and they sent me their balance-sheet. I find their profits of last year are £3,000, and what do you think they paid to the landlords in royalties?—£10,600. This company paid £3,500 in rates, they made a profit of £3,000, and the landlords got £10,600—more than the profits and the rates together. Yet they do not contribute a penny to the rates of the district. When I come along and say, "Here, gentlemen, you have escaped long enough, it is your turn now, I want you to pay just 5 per cent. on the £10,000 odd," they reply: "Five per cent.? You are a thief; you are worse, you are an attorney: worst of all, you are a Welshman." That always is the crowning epithet. I do not apologise, and I do not mind telling you that if I could, I would not; I am proud of the little land among the hills; but there is one thing I should like to say. Whenever they hurl my nationality at my head, I say to them, You Unionists, hypocrites, Pharisees, you are the people who in every peroration—well, not in every peroration, they have only got one—always talk about our being one kith and kin throughout the Empire, from the Old Man of Hoy in the north down to Van Diemen's Land in the south; and yet if any man dares to aspire to any position, if he does not belong to the particular nationality which they have dignified by choosing their parents from, they have no use for him. Well, they have got to stand the Welshman this time.

I have just given you some facts for the Welsh

valleys. But then you will probably say to me: "These are Welsh landlords; our landlords are not like that." I thought from your patience that they must have been angels, but I see that you have got just the same sort. You may say to us, "Why do you stand them?" Because you force us to stand them. We should have got rid of them long ago. When the Celt has a nail in his boot, he takes it out; but you have been marching on until there is a sore: have it out.

I have been inquiring into what is happening in England recently. Landlords have no nationality; their characteristics are cosmopolitan. The case was given me the other day from Yorkshire, of all places in the world, and it illustrates practically every tax which I propose in my Budget. If you can stand it, I will tell you this story. I have it on the authority of the managing director of the concern. It is the story of a district in Yorkshire which four or five years ago was purely agricultural, receiving half its rates as agricultural land from your taxes and mine; there was not a village within four miles of it, not an industry, not a factory, not a coal mine. Some very enterprising mining investors came along and said: "We think there's coal here." They went to the landlord and said: "Will you allow us to dig for coal here?" And he replied: "For a consideration, of course." He said: "I will only charge you sixpence a ton on all coal that comes up." They asked: "What about the surface?" "Ah, certainly," he replied, "I will sell you any surface land you want for a consideration." "Well, what do you want," they asked; "you are receiving

now 15s. 6d. an acre ; what will you want from us ? " He replied, " £4 an acre." Then they said to him : " We must bring workmen here, and as there are no cottages we shall have to build them, and we propose building a model village." These mining investors have, in fact, built one of the most beautiful model villages in the kingdom. They said : " Will you allow us to build a few cottages ? " " Certainly," he replied ; " I shall want a small return—£6 or £10 an acre." Quite moderate. I am not holding this landlord up to pillory him. He is really a most moderate landlord. The land was at 15s. 6d., and he charges £10. That is only eighteen times the value of the land. I can give you cases where landlords have charged thirty, forty, even one hundred times the value of the land. This man has been most moderate—only eighteen times its value. Then he said : " There is the fishpond rather near your model village. I do not think it will be worth much afterwards, whatever its worth is now ; so I think you had better take it." The mining speculator replied : " All right ; it will be rather good sport to fish either for trout or tadpoles." The landlord said : " I am getting £1 for it now ; I will let you have it for 18 guineas a year cheap." Now they started ; they spent half a million, without knowing what would happen. It was a real speculation, a real risk. They took it, spent half a million, discovered the coal, and the landowner is getting royalties now at the rate of nearly £20,000 per annum. He is getting in addition to the £4 per annum for every acre of land on the surface used by the colliery, £6 to £10 per annum per acre for all the cottages

there ; he charges £4 per annum for tipping rubbish, and £10 per annum for workmen's cottages. He is making a very good thing out of it. They have been prospering and getting more and more coal in a very short time, and they will be paying £40,000 per annum for this land for the royalties alone. They wrote to him and said : "We want more ground to build cottages on." He said : Certainly, for £150 per acre, the land now for agricultural purposes being worth about £20 per acre, and the landlord getting half his rates paid out of the general taxation of the country in respect to the fact that it is agricultural land. What happens ? He said to them : "I will let you have this land at £150 per acre," but he said—and I am sure this will commend itself to every temperance man in this house—"No public house to be erected." Well, gentlemen, that is all right. Oh, I beg your pardon, here is another sentence : "Without the consent of the landlord." If consent is given, an extra premium is required. I like a man who puts a high value on his principles. Here at any rate is a man who won't part with them without an extra premium. Well, they said to him : "Supposing the enterprise fails, supposing we cannot get coal, or suppose we do not get a sufficient quantity to pay well ?" He said—landlords are always accommodating in these cases—"I charge you a dead rent." Very fair—pay a dead rent for a dead failure.

So it is a growing matter, a matter of graduation ; they believe in graduated receipts. I am trying to inculcate the principles of graduated payments to them ; and in a few years the dead rent will be £7,900

a year. The more the mine-owners sink in the mine, the greater the loss ; and the greater the loss of the mine-owner, the greater the payment to the landlord.

Where does my Budget come in ? It comes in rather late. I admit it ought to have come in in one of the earlier chapters ; still, it comes in soon enough to give the story a happy ending. When the £40,000 royalty comes, 5 per cent. for the first time will come to the State. The land outside the land which is nominally agricultural, but which is really now valuable building land, will pay a half-penny in the pound. When it is sold, we shall get 20 per cent. on the increase ; and when the landlord passes away to another sphere, we shall then get the dead rent. More than that, we have made another little provision. We have considered his case thoroughly. When these cottages fall in and his heir comes and walks in for the whole of this beautiful model village, the State will then under this Budget say : "Very well, if you really must take all that property, I think we had better get a toll of 10 per cent. from it ; at any rate, we shall be able to do something for the people who live in these cottages." We have got a little provision. He has only leased one seam of coal. They have discovered, I think, four seams ; some day the other three seams will probably be leased, and then the 5 per cent. only applies to existing collieries, but we have got a special provision for future collieries. We shall then ask from him not 5 per cent. of the royalty, but 20 per cent.

Where is the injustice there ? I have been listening to criticism for five months, and they could not point out a single injustice ; they simply scolded at

large. Let me call attention to one provision in this lease, because it really casts a strange, almost a weird, light upon the landlords' ideal of rural life in this country. There is a clause in the lease of the model village that no persons shall reside in any of these cottages if they have ever been convicted of an offence against the game laws. No person shall lodge there if he has been convicted of a game offence, no person shall reside there if the landlord or his agent has any objection to him. And this is a free country ! Here is a poor miner who is guilty of what ? Of doing something which the landlord spends his life in doing, and which I have done myself many a time without a licence, only in Wales. What happens ? Not merely is he to be fined, but he is to be deprived, as far as this gentleman is concerned, of the opportunity for all time of earning a decent living for himself and his family. All I can say is that a provision of the sort in any lease is an outrage.

These are the taxes. I have given you illustrations of them. I defy any reasonable man anywhere to say that there is any injustice in taxing men under these conditions when the State needs the money. We want money for the defence of the country, to provide Pensions for the old people who have been spending their lives in tilling the soil at a very poor pittance, in sinking those mines, risking their lives, and when they are old we do not want to starve them or to humiliate them—and we say what better use can you make of wealth than to use it for the purpose of picking up the broken, healing, curing the sick, bringing a little more light, comfort and happiness to the aged ? These men ought to feel honoured that

Providence has given them the chance to put a little into the poor box. And since they will not do it themselves, we have got to do it for them.

Now we are going to send the Bill up, all the taxes or none. What will the Lords do? I tell you frankly it is a matter which concerns them far more than it concerns us. The more irresponsible and feather-headed amongst them want to throw it out. But what will the rest do? It will depend on the weather. There are some who are not fair-weather sailors, and they will go on. But poor Lord Lansdowne! With his creaky old ship and his mutinous crew. There he is, he has got to sail through the narrows, with one eye on the weather-glass and the other on the forecastle. But it does not depend on him. It will depend, in the first place, probably, on the reports from the country. The most important gentleman in the business is not Lord Lansdowne, with all his adroit management of the House of Lords, not even Mr. Balfour with his invaluable services to his party. The real sailing master is Sir Arthur Acland-Hood, the Chief Whip of the Tory Party; and the Ancient Mariner is engaged at the present moment in trying to decide whether it is safe to shoot the albatross. He will probably not discover it until too late. But still, this is the great constitutional party; and if there is one thing more than another better established about the British Constitution, it is this: that the Commons, and the Commons alone, have the complete control of supply and ways and means. And what our fathers established through centuries of struggles and of strife, even of bloodshed, we are not going to betray.

Who talks about altering and meddling with the Constitution? The Constitutional Party—the great Constitutional Party. As long as the Constitution gave rank and possession and power, it was not to be interfered with. As long as it secured even their sports from intrusion, and made interference with them a crime; as long as the Constitution forced royalties and ground-rents and fees, premiums and fines, the black retinue of exaction; as long as it showered writs, and summonses, and injunctions, and distresses, and warrants to enforce them, then the Constitution was inviolate, it was sacred, it was something that was put in the same category as religion, that no man ought to touch, and something that the chivalry of the nation ought to range in defence of. But the moment the Constitution looks round, the moment the Constitution begins to discover that there are millions of people outside the park gates who need attention, then the Constitution is to be torn to pieces. Let them realise what they are doing. They are forcing revolution.

But the Lords may decree a revolution which the people will direct. If they begin, issues will be raised that they little dream of, questions will be asked which are now whispered in humble voices, and answers will be demanded then with authority. The question will be asked: "Should 500 men, ordinary men, chosen accidentally from among the unemployed, override the judgment—the deliberate judgment—of millions of people who are engaged in the industry which makes the wealth of the country?" That is one question. Another will be: "Who ordained that a few should have the land of Britain as a perquisite,

who made 10,000 people owners of the soil and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth ; who is it—who is responsible for the scheme of things whereby one man is engaged through life in grinding labour, to win a bare and precarious subsistence for himself, and when at the end of his days he claims at the hands of the community he served a poor pension of 8d. a day, he can only get it through a revolution, while another man who does not toil receives every hour of the day, every hour of the night, whilst he slumbers, more than his poor neighbour receives in a whole year of toil ? Where did the table of the law come from ? Whose finger inscribed it ? " These are the questions that will be asked. The answers are charged with peril for the order of things the Peers represent ; but they are fraught with rare and refreshing fruit for the parched lips of the multitude who have been treading the dusty road along which the people have marched through the dark ages, which are now emerging into the light.

Newcastle. October 9, 1909.

Carnarvon Speech

We are here to consider the gravest political crisis that has arisen in either your day or mine. It is not due to one event, but to a series of events. It is true that for the first time in the history of this country a financial provision made by the Commons of this country for the services of the land has been rejected by the House of Lords. That in itself is enough to

create a grave situation ; but the rejection of the Budget is simply the culmination of a series of similar acts on the part of the same Assembly.

What has happened—not merely during the present Parliament, but during every Parliament ? At any rate for a century, Liberal measures undoubtedly demanded by the vast majority of the people, put forward by men elected by a majority of the people, after careful consideration by the representatives of all the people, one after the other they are either rejected or mutilated by a House with no responsibility to anyone, not elected by anyone. When Tory Parliaments are in power, there is no difficulty in getting Bills through. Measure after measure, never demanded by the electorate, with every indication that the majority of the people are opposed to those particular measures, are passed without question, without challenge, without demur, and almost without consideration. Why is this ? They say : " You have set up an impartial judicial tribunal which weighs in the balance every measure submitted to it, and if they find it wanting, they reject it." What would you say to an inspector of weights and measures who, when examining the measures and weights submitted to him by the tradesmen in his district, passes them as correct and without any question, if the tradesman happens to be his friend ; but if the tradesman happens to be his enemy, he either condemns his weights and measures or adds some baser metal to bring them up to his own peculiar standard ? That is what we say about the House of Lords.

But the Lords say : " We have not rejected your Bills ; we are only referring them to the country."

Let us examine that, because you will hear a good deal of it in the course of the next few weeks, though you will not hear much about it afterwards. It is a claim that does not bear examination. What does it mean? Just follow the subject in the light of what has happened during the present Parliament. In the first Session of this Parliament two great measures had passed from the House of Commons. The first was the Education Bill. No one can doubt that the principle of that measure had been submitted to the judgment of the electorate. It was rejected by the House of Lords. What was the second Bill? The second Bill was the Plural Voting Bill, better known as "one man, one vote." That was also rejected. Those are two Bills which have been unquestionably submitted to the electorate, and both were rejected in the first Session of this Parliament. What is the claim of the Lords? The Lords said: "We did not reject them: we simply referred them to the people." Very well; suppose we had taken them at their word. There would have been a dissolution in the first Session of Parliament. The second year we then dealt with two great questions upon which the Scottish electorate were unanimous. One was the Scottish Small Landholders Bill, and the other was the Scottish Valuation Bill. Both these Bills were rejected. You would have had a second dissolution in the second year of Parliament. Now you come to the third year. We have already had two dissolutions of Parliament in two years, if the claim of the Peers is to be admitted. Now we come to the third year. The third year we had a Licensing Bill. What happened? That was thrown out. A third dissolution of Parliament in

the third year would, therefore, have been called for. We come to the fourth year of this Parliament, and the Finance Bill of the year is thrown out. A fourth dissolution of Parliament in the course of four years ! Do they really think the people of this country are fools ? It is not a reference to the people, it is a refusal. It means that whenever a Liberal Government happens to come into power there must be annual Parliaments, and whenever a Tory Government comes into power, then the Septennial Act is to work.

It is not holding the balance evenly and fairly between the parties in this country, and it is a demand which is absolutely intolerable. They carry it further than that. They say, not merely you must refer a question to the people, but it must be the only question that is referred to the people at the election. Look at what happened to the Education Bill. The main principles of that Bill were undoubtedly submitted to the electorate—popular control, the abolition of tests in all the public schools in the land. The Bill was carried through the House of Commons ; it was sent to the House of Lords, and what did they say ? They said : " Oh ! this was not the only question referred to the electorate ; it is perfectly true that you had a discussion about this, and the Liberal leaders appealed to the electors upon it ; but you had in addition to that Chinese labour." Mark what that means. It means that if we refer more than one question to the electorate they will not recognise any mandate upon any of them. What does this really mean ? It is making a mockery of the democracy. It is making progress impossible, and they will succeed in accomplishing that object unless we put an end once and for

all to their mischievous work. The Liberals have shown unutterable patience for years. This is the time for us to strike, and we have done it. They have thrown out a Finance Bill. It is a most serious act, I think, on the part of the House of Lords, to dislocate the finances of the year. Why have they done it? They have done it because they say that this is an unprecedented Bill. Well, of course, every new Bill is an unprecedented one. There would be no need of a Bill at all unless it was different from every Bill introduced and carried. They said: "This is so revolutionary, this is so drastic, and, above all, it is so Socialistic."

Let us examine that contention. Let us see what justification there is for it. What are the great taxes which are comprised in the Bill that I introduced on April 29th? The first was the increase of 2d. in the income-tax on earned incomes of £3,000 a year and on unearned incomes throughout which brought it up to 1s. 2d. A 1s. 2d. tax was the first proposed, and in the House of Commons that was not challenged. It went through without a division, after a speech by Mr. Balfour. If such a misfortune were to happen that there should be a Tory victory at the next election, and that they should triumph—supposing such a mishap occurred and the other party came in, they would have to reimpose a 1s. 2d. income-tax. There was no difference between them and us. There was no Socialism in that. There was no robbery in that. That, at any rate, is an honest, downright attempt to take 2d. from other people's pockets and put it into the purse of the State. Many would wish that they had £3,000 on which to pay tax.

What was the super-tax? It was a tax of 6d. in the pound. I want you to understand that—it was 6d. in the pound on incomes of over £5,000, but deducting the first £3,000 and effecting a graduation. The man who has £6,000 pays 3d., the man who has £7,000 pays 3½d., and up it goes until you get to the man who has £20,000 a year, and he pays nearly the whole 6d. It is a graduation. The first time that was introduced into the House of Commons they challenged it, but after six months' debate, the last time it was brought up, Mr. Balfour got up on behalf of the whole of his party and withdrew his opposition to it. That shows that the longer you examine my taxes, the more reasonable they become. At first they opposed them. There was robbery, there was also theft, and the taint of Socialism. But after months of examination, and debate, and scrutiny, they said, "These are all right"; and they went through without a division. But when they got to the House of Lords, then they had something to say about them. Let us examine them again. A man who gets £20,000 a year is called upon to pay 6d. towards the unquestioned needs of the country. You want something for defence. They themselves clamoured for it. They have the goods, and will not pay for them. What does £20,000 a year mean? If you take all the working days of the year and give the man who earns it a month's holiday, it means £70 a day. Well, now, £70 a day in this country would pay the wages of 250 masons. It would pay the wages of 400 labourers. Is it unfair that a man who is so lucky, so fortunate as either to inherit that great income or to possess the brains and the gifts, given to

him from on high, that enable him to make that great income, should be asked to give 6d. in the pound out of that huge fortune for the purpose of defending his native land, and to pay something for the wretched and the miserable here and there? Let me say this, it is not the men who earn it that grumble. I know many of them; I never heard one of them complain that he was called upon to pay it—never one of them. Every one of them has told me he thought it a fair and reasonable thing. It is men who never earned a copper of it that complain. But they say: "Ah! what we object to is not paying, but letting the Income-tax Commissioners know how much we have to pay upon." Of course they do. Who would be glad to tell the Income-tax Commissioners? It is wonderful what a difference it makes who asks questions about our means. We generally like to give the impression that we are doing rather well, all of us, except to the Income-tax assessor. We are so modest. We are not doing very well; trade is very bad, and it is getting worse. We do not like him to inquire too much into our circumstances, and especially if we have £20,000 a year and must pay an extra sixpence upon it. What these noble lords forget is that every tradesman in the land has to make an account. Why should not they? Why exempt a man from rendering an account of his taxable property purely because he has one man to fix his collar and adjust his tie in the morning, a couple of men to carry a boiled egg to him at breakfast, a fourth man to open the door for him, a fifth man to show him in and out of his carriage, and a sixth and seventh to drive him? And the list is by no means exhausted. All men for whom the

community provides such privileges as these ought really to pay for them. All we say is that we want to treat such a man no worse than either professional men or tradesmen or workmen, but we want equal rights for all white men. Where is the Socialism of it? It is simply fair play and equal treatment.

I propose also to put up the death duties. What does that mean? It means that where a man has been enabled, owing to the protection which the law gives him, which the organisation of society in this country affords him, which the defence which our Army and Navy have extended to him, to accumulate a large fortune and to transmit it to a second generation, it is fair that there should be a toll paid at that stage by the man who receives. That is a principle which comes down from the days of the Roman Empire. It was extended by Mr. Pitt in this country, by Mr. Gladstone, by Sir William Harcourt. I have come on with my little contribution. What have I done? I will tell you. A man who leaves up to £5,000 I have not touched. More than that, I provide just a few little relaxations in the scale. For instance, where a man has a mortgage on his property and two or three modifications of that kind, so that he leaves under £5,000 of property on the whole, I rather improve the position. That covers a vast multitude of people in this country. Up to £20,000 I have only increased the duty very slightly. From that point, it is true, I do increase the scale until I get up to the millions. If there are any millionaires here, I have no doubt they are feeling particularly sore with me at the present moment. They talk in the House of Lords as though it were a very common

thing for a man to leave £500,000 to his children in this country—as though every workman in the land left anything from £5,000 to £50,000, and as though every tradesman left from £100,000 to a million—the poorer amongst us leaving a hundred thousand and those who are better off leaving something in the neighbourhood of a million. They do not know the condition of things. It is not a question of thrift. Not all the thrift in the world will enable a man to accumulate a million, and beyond a certain point, most of the wealth of this country is accumulated a good deal by luck. The assumption that when a man accumulates riches it is a proof of superior and superlative virtues, and that when a man dies poor it is, on the other hand, a proof that he has not been a very well-conducted citizen is true neither in history nor in fact. There were death duties in the Roman Empire, I am told, in the early days of the Christian era. I do not believe that the relatives of the Apostles had to pay much, after then, except in respect of one of them and he, I believe, spent his life dabbling in finance. All we say is this, that if a man is lucky enough to be able to leave millions, no one suggests that they should be taken away, but that they ought to make a contribution towards providing for those who have been less fortunate in the battle of life.

Let us come to the other taxes. I have two more taxes to deal with, but I am afraid that the heaviest tax of all is on your patience. What about the licences? I am told that these taxes are vindictive, oppressive, and grossly unfair. Let us examine them. What does a licence mean? A licence is a monopoly granted by the State to a certain privileged, selected

trader. A draper does not pay for a licence, but suppose that in the year 1828 the State said : "We must limit the number of drapers in this country," and they chose a comparative few, making strict provision to limit the number of drapers, and protecting them from competition. Supposing that during the last 10 or 15 years there had been a steady diminution in the number of drapers, and that the State passed another Bill in order to bring about a still greater diminution. Do not you think that the drapers would have been very pleased to pay a licence which would guarantee them against competition ? It would be a valuable commercial asset for them. A licence is a valuable asset, created by the State, and there is no injustice in the State demanding a fair and adequate return for a property which it created itself by its own acts. Let me say another word about licences. By my proposals we are charging 50 per cent. of the rent. Do you know that when you come to the smaller public houses they are paying 50 per cent. now ? Why should it be fair to charge the small public houses 50 per cent. without its being called confiscation and Socialism, and not fair to charge the big public houses 50 per cent. ? It is the same old vicious principle of graduation the wrong way, graduation against the poor man. A big public house does not pay in proportion one-twentieth of what the poor village publican pays. All we say is that what is fair to the village publican is equally fair to the great gin palaces of the country.

I now come to the land taxes. What are the proposals of these taxes ? The first is this, that the owners of land should pay on its full real value. And

when they talk about us exempting agriculture, the reason why we have done it is that the owner and occupier pay on its full value at this moment. You come to land in the neighbourhood of a town, and very rarely do you get land taxed even upon a tenth part of its value. There is no justice in it, there is no fairness in it. And you must remember this, that the value of land in the neighbourhood of a town has been created by the industrial growth and energies and efforts of the inhabitants of the town themselves. What is the second principle of the land taxes? It is that we are in future, when land grows in value, not owing to any expenditure by its owner, to any capital invested by him, to any improvements effected by him, but purely to the growth of the community around, then one-fifth of the increased value shall go to the pockets of the community that created the whole of it. And what is the other tax? We have in this part of the country the leasehold system, which is a truly vicious system. What happens when a man takes a piece of land to build upon it? It may be land at the time for which the owner may be only getting a few shillings. A man builds upon it, and the rent immediately goes up by leaps and bounds to as much as four, five, ten, and fifty times, and sometimes—I can give you cases—100 times the previous value of the land—purely because he has built a home for himself upon it. What better purpose could you put land to than that? He gets a lease for 60, 70, or 80 years. Year by year the value of that land and house passes out of the hands of the man that built it, who sweated for it, who raised money for it, into the hands of the man who never spent a penny in

erecting that house. What do we say? We say the country has need of money and we are looking out for somebody to tax. We do not want to tax food, we will tax no man's raiment, we will not tax the house that shelters him and his family—what shall we tax? We do not want to tax industry, we do not want to tax enterprise, we do not want to tax commerce—what shall we tax? We will tax the man who is getting something that he never earned, that he never produced, and that by no law of justice and fairness ought ever to belong to him. So when that lease expires and the landlord comes in and seizes that house, he must give 10 per cent. to the community upon it. They say that 10 per cent. is robbery; I do not know what name they would give 50 per cent.; but the landlord takes 100 per cent.; we only take 10.

Let me take my first proposition, that we are simply charging the landlord upon the real and not the nominal value of the land. I cannot do better than give you one or two cases, one or two concrete illustrations. There is a very fine old castle in South Wales; it is now in the hands of a Scotsman called the Marquis of Bute. It is a magnificent building; it is the Marquis of Bute's South Wales residence. It has over a hundred acres of land, invaluable land in the heart of Cardiff. If you were to sell that land, I will not say you would get enough sovereigns for it to cover it, but you would get an enormous price for it. That castle is now rated with all that invaluable land at £924 per annum. But, stop a minute, next door to this castle is a tailor's shop. It is 47 feet—that is, a little over 400 square yards. The castle and its grounds is 500,000 square yards. The tailor's

shop is rated at £947. £924 for this gigantic castle with its magnificent grounds in the heart of one of the most prosperous cities of the Empire ; next door is this small tailor's shop, rated at £23 higher every year. Now, nobody wants to take that castle away ; that is not the proposal. Nobody wishes to confiscate the property of the Marquis of Bute ; all we say is that the tailor has to pay full value on his premises. I could give you other cases, which you can multiply from your own experience, your own observation, your own knowledge. You can compare the way in which the tradesman is assessed in any town, great or small, for his premises with the assessment which is placed on some great baronial castle or residence in the neighbourhood. You find that the tradesman has often to encounter very hard times, and he has always to pay. He has to pay the wholesale man, he has to pay wages, he has to pay the tax-gatherer, he has to pay the rate collector, and he has to pay the ground landlord, and, it may be, he has to pay the mortgagee. At any rate, he has to pay promptly, he has to pay on the nail, and very often he has to deal with people who have not the same ideas of promptitude and punctuality that his creditors have. A large number of tradesmen are above this anxiety, but they have passed through it on their way. No tradesman I have ever met objects to paying his fair share of taxes, whether Imperial or local, but he objects to pay somebody else's share, for that is what happens here as long as you allow it. What we want is equal treatment for all.

Let me give you an illustration of the increment duty. I think I will take an illustration from this

town. You had a demand here a short time ago for land for the purposes of a cemetery and a new school. The land which was wanted for the cemetery was rated at £2 an acre. What did the landowner ask for that land? He wanted £847 an acre. Two pounds an acre at 25 years' purchase would bring us £50; the demand put forward is £847. There are two things in this Budget concerning that—namely, that if land is worth £847, it should be taxed upon that sum, and not upon £50. If land goes up in value so rapidly in the neighbourhood of towns, land worth £50 goes up to £800, the community which creates that value should get one-fifth of that increment for public purposes. You had a demand for a public school and wanted land for that purpose. The sum asked in respect for that land was, I think, about a thousand pounds an acre. *The Times* to-day says I propose to confiscate the land of the people, to tax them out of their land. Who says so? I only propose that the tax should be upon the real value, and not the nominal value; I only propose that where there is increment in the value which is entirely attributable to the industry of the community and not the industry of the owner of the land, at any rate the community should have a share of it. That is a proposal that is in existence at the present moment in some of the greatest commercial cities of Europe, but no one calls it Socialism there. It has not been carried by the Socialistic party; it has been carried by the great leaders of commerce, of trade, and of industry in those cities, and it is perfectly just.

I will give you an illustration of my last tax of all, and a very good one, too. It is the reversion

tax. Yesterday morning this trust deed of a Calvinistic Methodist chapel came into my hand, and since the monthly meeting vouches for it, it must be all right. There is a little chapel that was built down in the Gower peninsula by the Calvinistic Methodist body. It was built many years ago, and it will be of interest to you to know that one of its first ministers was the late Mr. Wyndham Lewis. It is a very small chapel, and did not cost much to build ; but the principle is just the same. It cost about £150. It is a poor neighbourhood, and for years and years, week in, week out, they contributed their coppers just to pay the debt of that little chapel, to keep it going and to paint, decorate, and renovate it when necessary. But they had only a lease upon it. It was a lease on miserable hill land. The whole freehold of the land was not worth more than a few shillings. Just a short time ago that lease came to an end, and they thought it might be renewed. Not at all ; the trustees were told that the chapel belonged to the landlord—a chapel they had to build with years of sacrifice they had to buy back. They had to pay £150 for the chapel. They paid for redeeming the chapel site £150. To take that chapel from them, I suppose, is not robbery. That is not confiscation when the landlord stipulates by that document that the whole fruit of the labour of generations of members of that little church passes at a certain time into his possession. That is property, that is law, justice, but when I come along and say to that landlord : " Here, the State wants money to protect you and your property, your mansion, your rights, your privileges—we want money to protect

you. You must pay £15 out of that £150," they say: "Robber."

I venture to say that every tax we are imposing is a fair one, a just one; but I tell you what they object to. It is the valuation. How can you go to a town council whenever a town council wants land for a school, a cemetery, a waterworks, or a gasworks, or for some other public purpose, say, for small holdings, for houses for the working classes—how can you go to that town council and say that land is worth a thousand pounds an acre when you have already made a declaration to the valuer that it is not worth £50 an acre? You cannot do it. There is a man who will go round all this land and will say: "How much is it worth? In my judgment it is worth (let us say) £300 an acre." The landlord will come down and say: "No, it is not worth £100." The matter will be settled by a perfectly impartial tribunal; there will be an appeal against that tribunal, and the ultimate Court of Appeal may say that it is worth £200 an acre. By and by that land will be wanted, it may be to build houses for the working classes. They will go to the landlords and say: "This land is worth £200 an acre." He will say: "Good gracious; it is worth £1,500 an acre." How can it be? It is all registered. And if he does say that it is worth £1,500 an acre, and if he proves that it is worth £1,500 an acre, then that means that that land has gone up from £200 to £1,500, and that it has increased in value by £1,300. Who created that difference? You will go to the landlord and say: "Did you make it worth £1,500 when it was only worth £200?" He will say: "Yes." We

will say : " What have you done to it ? Have you improved it in any way ; have you done anything to increase its value ? " And if he cannot prove that he has improved it we will then say : " There is an increase in the value of £1,300 which is due to the community, and we will take a modest 20 per cent. of the increase." They hate the valuation. We are going to get at the real value of land, and a good deal hangs on that. Each successive Parliament adds to the number of objects for which land can be compulsorily acquired. We have added housing, small holdings, roads for opening up the country afforestation, experimental farms. In future, when we get valuation, you will pay, not fancy prices, but the real value.

These are the taxes, these are our proposals. What do our opponents object to ? Where is the Socialism, injustice and wrong ? Where is the oppression ; where is the unfairness of it ? Do they object to what we are spending the money for ? They do not complain about our building Dreadnoughts ; they want more, except that they want someone else to pay for them. Do they object to Pensions ? What do they object to ? Is it unfair to raise money for these purposes ? We are imposing no burdens upon the earnings of any working man. The vast majority —I am sure the whole—of the middle class of this country escape additional burdens. We put no burden upon the necessities of life of anyone. We are taxing the surplus. We are taxing the luxuries. If a man has enough after maintaining his wife and family, and can spare something upon whisky and tobacco, why should he not afterwards contribute

towards the pensions and defences of the country? No; we are raising money by means that make it no more difficult for men to live, we are raising it for making provision for hundreds of thousands of workmen in the country who have nothing between them and starvation in old age except the charity of the parish. We propose a great scheme in order to set up a fund in this country that will see that no man suffers hunger in the dark days of sickness, breakdown in health, and unemployment which visit so many of us. That is what we are going to do. These schemes for the betterment of the people, we shall get them some day. We cannot get them without effort, and they will not be worth getting without effort. Freedom does not descend like manna from Heaven. It has been won step by step, by tramping the wilderness, fighting enemies, crossing Jordan, and clearing Jebusites out of the land. I do not regret that we cannot obtain these blessings except by fighting. The common people have taken no step that was worth taking without effort, sacrifice and suffering.

I cannot pretend to regret this conflict with which we are now confronted. It is well that democracies should now and again engage in these great struggles for a wider freedom and a higher life. They represent stages in the advance of the people from the bondage of the past to the blessings of the future. Those who dread these political convulsions, who apprehend from them nothing but destruction and danger, have read their history in vain. The race has nothing to fear except from stagnation. Against our will, we have been precipitated into this tumult. For all that, we mean to win our way through it to a

better time. The people may not secure all they seek, but if they bear themselves manfully they will achieve other ends they dare not even hope for now. Yesterday I visited the old village where I was brought up. I wandered through the woods familiar to my boyhood. There I saw a child gathering sticks for firewood, and I thought of the hours which I spent in the same pleasant and profitable occupation, for I also have been something of a "backwoodsman." And there is one experience taught me then which is of use to me to-day. I learnt as a child that it was little use going into the woods after a period of calm and fine weather, for I generally returned empty-handed ; but after a great storm I always came back with an armful. We are in for rough weather. We may be even in for a winter of storms which will rock the forest, break many a withered branch, and leave many a rotten tree torn up by the roots. But when the weather clears, you may depend upon it that there will be something brought within the reach of the people that will give warmth and glow to their grey lives, something that will help to dispel the hunger, the despair, the oppression, and the wrong which now chill so many of their hearts.

Carnarvon. December 9, 1909.

What we want is not a more difficult, but an easier road for reform. These are the days of improved transport, and our permanent ways are getting better ;

the roads have better metal. Good roads are the first tests of civilisation. That is never truer than with justice. The best proof of good government in any country is the ease with which you can get justice done by constitutional methods. Go to a country which is semi-civilised, and you can't get justice done ; it is idle to attempt to get a wrong redressed. Obstacles and pitfalls on the path of justice are simply remnants of barbarism. When you set up new pitfalls, whether you call them referendum or reform of the House of Lords or whatever it may be, they are traps—obstacles in the way of getting wrongs redressed.

A good many years ago, before either the Chairman or I was born, there were toll-gates swarming on every road. Travelling was costly ; travelling was difficult ; travelling was dilatory. The patience of the people was worn, and they pulled down the toll barriers. That is what we are trying to do. We have a turnpike across the road in the House of Commons, between us and the Throne. A Tory car comes along. Before it reaches the gate, the gate is opened, and they stand there smilingly, with hand to cap. "Pass along." They never ask a question. A Liberal van comes along. Barred and bolted ! They say : "Who are you ? Where do you come from ? What have you got there ? Turn the parcels out and let us see what is in them." Sometimes they let the van through ; often they send it back. When they let it through, they always open the parcels, and you never get the goods through in the way in which they have been packed. You find that most of them have short weight ; in some of them they put sand

into the sugar, water into the milk. Everything is turned topsy-turvy, adulterated, even when it gets through. We must have an end put to this.

Now they are getting frightened. The turnpike-keeper has put his head out, and he sees a very fierce crowd at the gate. He says : " Don't pull it down, please. It is a little dilapidated ; it needs a little repair. I will put a coat of fresh paint on it." We say : " The key, please ! " He says : " Well, wait a minute, just a minute. We will repair it ; we will put fresh spikes on. They are a little rusty ; a few of them are broken. We will put fresh ones on more pointed than ever. After all, you must not have merely a barrier, but an effective barrier." We say : " No barriers ! Down with them ! We want a free road for Liberal goods. If you don't pull the gate down, we will have it off the hinges. That is what we will do with your old gate."

The gate bars the road that carries relief to the beleaguered garrison. There are men and women and children who have been waiting at the other end for something to arrive. In Scotland, where land-lordism has devastated the land and has driven—is still driving—thousands of its best sons and daughters to exile, they have been waiting. Ireland has been waiting—waiting for freedom, the freedom given to every Colony in the Empire. Many thousands in our great cities have been waiting for the day of deliverance from the bondage of ground land-lordism.

It is coming at last. Some of us have been fighting for years and years. Some whom I see here, with grey hairs, have been fighting all their lives, fighting

through oppression, fighting through darkness, despondency, despair, but still clinging to their faith. It is coming. When I arrived at Cardiff to-day I stood on that hill, and there I saw, across the valley where Cardiff lies in a mist, the sun shining. Ah! Let me tell you, after years of darkness, I can see, through the valley where the people dwell, through the dark cloud of mist that hangs over their homes—I can see the sunshine of redemption.

Cardiff. November 29, 1910.

SOCIALISM

Nothing struck me so much in the war as the disappearance of the individual, of the human being, with his separate feelings, with his separate affections, with his separate interests, with his separate soul. All vanished. Man was then called a unit. When men fell at the front, there was an order for units to fill their places. The units became battalions, and the battalions brigades, and brigades became divisions, and the divisions became army corps and the army corps became armies—but they are all but units in a machine. . . . That is what a complete Socialistic State would mean, once you carried it out. . . . Socialism means transferring into the area of peace the conditions of war.

Manchester (*Free Trade Hall*). *April* 28, 1923.

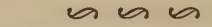
Socialism is the negation of Liberty.

Llandrindod Wells. *September* 7, 1923.

PEACE

The day will come when a nation that lifts up the sword against a nation will be put in the same felon category as the man who strikes his brother in anger.

Manchester. April 21, 1908.

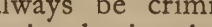


The best security for peace will be that nations will band themselves together to punish the first peace-breaker. In the armouries of Europe every weapon will be a sword of justice. In the government of men every army will be the constabulary of peace.

London (*Guildhall*). *January* 11, 1917.

Britain has faced the problems of war with a courage that has amazed the world ; she must face the problems of peace in the same great spirit.

London (*Guildhall*). *April* 27, 1917.



There will always be criminal States until the reward of international crime becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment of international crime becomes too sure to make it attractive.

Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

There is no security in any land without certainty of punishment. There is no protection for life, property or money in a State where the criminal is more powerful than the law. The law of nations is no exception.

Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

So long as the possibility of dispute between nations continues, that is to say, so long as men and women are dominated by passioned ambition and war is the only means to settle a dispute, all nations must live under the burden not only of having from time to time to engage in it, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak. The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation, these are blots on our civilisation of which every thinking individual must be ashamed.

For these and other similar reasons we are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish by some international organisation an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes. After all, war is a relic of barbarism; and just as law has succeeded violence as the means of settling disputes between individuals, so we believe that it is destined ultimately to take the place of war in the settlement of controversies between nations.

Westminster. January 5, 1918.

The task with which the Peace Delegates have been confronted is indeed a gigantic one. No conference that has ever assembled in the history of the world has been confronted with problems of such variety, of such complexity, of such magnitude, and of such gravity. The Conference of Vienna was the nearest approach to it. You had then to settle the affairs of Europe. It took eleven months. But the problems of the Conference of Vienna, grave as they were, sink into insignificance as compared with those that we have attempted to settle at the Paris Conference.

It is not one continent that is engaged. Every continent is affected. With very few exceptions, every country in Europe has been in this war. Every country in Asia is affected by the war except Tibet and Afghanistan. There is not a square mile of Africa that has not been engaged in the war in one way or another. Almost the whole of the nations of America are in the war, and the far islands of the Southern Seas. There are islands which have been captured, and there are hundreds of thousands of men who have come to fight in the great world-struggle. There has never been in the whole history of this globe anything to compare with it. Ten new States have sprung into existence, some of them independent, some of them semi-independent, some of them, maybe, protectorates ; and at any rate although we may not define their boundaries, we must give indications of them. The boundaries of fourteen countries have to be recast. That will give some idea of the difficulties, purely of a technical character, which have engaged our attention.

But there are problems, equally great and equally

important, not of a territorial character, but all affecting the peace of the world, all affecting the well-being of man, all affecting the destinies of the human race, and every one of them of a character, where if you make blunders humanity may have to pay—armaments, economic questions that are the international waterways, railways, questions of indemnities—not an easy one—not one that can be settled by telegrams—international arrangements for labour practically never attempted before. Thanks very largely to the skill and real statesmanship displayed by Mr. Barnes and by others in the trade union movement, a great world-scheme has been adopted. And there is that great organisation—an experiment, but an experiment on which the whole hope of the world for peace hangs—the society of nations.

All of them and each of them separately would occupy months and a blunder might precipitate universal war—maybe near, maybe distant—and all of them almost every nation on earth is engaged in considering. We were justified in taking some time. In fact, I do not mind saying that it would have been imperative in some respects that we should take more time but for one fact, and that is that we are setting up a machinery that is capable of readjusting and correcting possible mistakes. And that is why the League of Nations, instead of wasting time, has saved time at the Conference. And we had to work long and late, because whilst we were trying to build, we saw in many lands the foundations of society crumbling into dust, and we had to make haste. I venture to say that no body of men ever worked harder, and no body of men ever worked better in harmony. I am

doubtful whether any body of men with a difficult task have worked under greater difficulties and with greater determination. Stones rattling on the roof, coming crashing through the windows, and sometimes wild men screaming through the keyholes. I have come back to say a few things, and I mean to say them. . . .

There are intrinsic difficulties of an extraordinary character. We are dealing with a multitude of nations, most of them with problems of their own, each and every one of them with a different point of view, even where the problems are common, looking from a different angle at questions—sometimes, perhaps, with different interests ; and it requires all the tact, all the patience, and all the skill that we can command to prevent different interests from developing into conflicting interests. I want the House and the country to bear that in mind. I believe that we have surmounted those difficulties, but it has not been easy. There were questions one never heard of which have almost imperilled the peace of Europe while we were sitting there.

I should like to put each Member of this House under an examination. I am certain that I could not have passed it before I went to the Peace Conference. How many Members have heard of Teschen ? I do not mind saying that I had never heard of it ; but Teschen very nearly produced an angry conflict between two Allied States, and we had to interrupt the proceedings to try and settle the affairs at Teschen. There are many questions of that kind where commissions have had to be sent, and where we have had to smooth difficulties, in order to enable us to get on

with the bigger problems of the war. And those questions are important. They are questions of small States. It was the quarrel for small States that made the Great War. The difficulties of the Balkans—I believe they disturbed Europe, they created the atmosphere of unrest which began the trouble, they aroused the military temper, and I am not at all sure they did not excite the blood-lust in Europe.

One of the features in the present situation is that, owing to the break-up of great Empires, Central Europe is being broken into small States, and the greatest care must be taken that no cause of future unrest shall be created by the settlements which we make. I have given the House some of the difficulties with which we are confronted.

In addition to them, we have had before us the complete break-up of three ancient Empires—Russia, Turkey and Austria. I should like to say, before I come to the other work of the Conference, a few words about Russia. I have read and I have heard of very simple remedies produced by both sides. Some say: "Use force!" Some say: "Make peace!" It is not easy; it is one of the most complex problems ever dealt with by any body of men. One difficulty is that there is no Russia. Siberia is broken off. There is the Don, one of the richest provinces of Russia, the Caucasus, and then there is some organisation controlling Central Russia; but there is no body that can say it is a *de facto* Government for the whole of Russia. Apart, then, from all question of whether you could, under any circumstances, recognise the Bolshevik Government, you cannot recognise it as the *de facto* Government of Russia, because it is not,

and there is no other Government you can call the *de facto* Government of Russia. You have that vast country in a state of complete chaos, confusion, and anarchy. There is no authority that extends over the whole. Boundaries advance and boundaries recede. One day a large territory is governed by one authority, and the next day by another. It is just like a volcano ; it is still in fierce eruption, and the best you can do is to provide security for those who are dwelling on its remotest and most accessible slopes, and arrest the devastating flow of lava, so that it will not scorch other lands.

It is very easy to say about Russia, "Why do you not do something?" I would like to ask each man consecutively what he would have done. To begin with, let me say at once, there is no question of recognition. It has never been discussed—it was never put forward, and never discussed for the reasons I have given. I can give two or three more. There is no Government representing the whole of Russia. The Bolshevik Government has committed against Allied subjects great crimes which have made it impossible to recognise it, even if it were a civilised Government ; and the third reason is that at this very moment they are attacking our friends in Russia. What is the alternative? Does anyone propose military intervention? I want to examine that carefully and candidly. I will not say before the House, but before any individual commits his conscience to such an enterprise, I want him to realise what it means. First of all there is the fundamental principle of all foreign policy in this country—a very sound principle—that you should never interfere in the

internal affairs of another country, however badly governed ; and whether Russia is Menshevik or Bolshevik, whether it follows one set of men or another, that is a matter for the Russian people themselves. We cannot interfere according to any canon of good government to impose any form of government on another people, however bad we may consider their present form of government to be. The people of this country thoroughly disapproved of Tsarism—its principles, its corruption, and its oppression—but it was not our business to put it down. This is a question for Russia itself. We certainly disagree —I believe I may say every man in this House wholly disagrees fundamentally—with all the principles upon which the present Russian experiment is based. We deplore its horrible consequences—starvation, bloodshed, confusion, ruin, and horror. But that does not justify us in committing this country to a gigantic military enterprise in order to improve the conditions in Russia.

Let me speak in all solemnity, and with a great sense of responsibility. Russia is a country which it is very easy to invade, but very difficult to conquer. It has never been conquered by a foreign foe, although it has been successfully invaded many times. It is a country which it is easy to get into, but very difficult to get out of. You have only to look at what has happened in the last few years to the Germans. They rolled up the Russian armies, they captured millions of Russian prisoners, they took Russian guns. The Russians had no ammunition, there was barely anyone to resist them, and at last the Russian Army fled, leaving their guns on the field. There was no Russian

Army. Neither M. Kerensky nor any of his successors could get together 10,000 disciplined men, and yet the Germans to the last moment, whilst their front was broken in France, while their country was menaced with invasion, while they themselves were being overwhelmed with disaster, had to keep a million of men in Russia ; and why ? Because they had entangled themselves in the morass, and could not get out of it. Let that be a warning. At that time the Bolshevik Army was comparatively feeble. May I put it another way ? . . .

Supposing you gathered together an overwhelming army, and you conquered Russia. What manner of government are you going to set up there ? You must set up a government which the people want ; otherwise it would be an outrage of all the principles for which we have fought in this war. Does anyone know for what government they would ask, and if it is a government we do not like, are we to reconquer Russia in order to get a government we do like ?

Look at it in another way. We have an Army of Occupation. I know what it costs. You cannot immediately leave Russia until you have restored order. It will take a long time to restore order in Russia. It is not a highly organised community. Has anyone reckoned up what an Army of Occupation would cost in Russia ? The Rhine is accessible ; it is not so very far from Great Britain. But what about Russia, with its long lines of communication, with its deficient transport, and its inadequate resources ?

I read how hon. Members in this House showed a natural anxiety to control the expenditure in this

country on railways and canals. But my right hon. friend (Sir Eric Geddes) with all his energy, could not in a quarter of a century spend as much money on railways and canals in Britain as a single year of military enterprise in Russia would cost. I share the horror of all the Bolshevik teachings, but I would rather leave Russia Bolshevik until she sees her way out of it than see Britain bankrupt. And that is the surest road to Bolshevism in Britain. I only want to put—and I must put quite frankly to the House—I should not be doing my duty as head of the Government unless I stated quite frankly to the House my earnest conviction—that to attempt military intervention in Russia would be the greatest act of stupidity that any Government could possibly commit. But then I am asked if that be the case, why do you support Koltchak, Denikin, and Kharkow? I will tell the House with the same frankness as I put the other case. When the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed, there were large territories and populations in Russia that had neither hand nor part in that shameful pact, and they revolted against the Government which signed it.

Let me say this. They raised armies at our instigation and largely, no doubt, at our expense. That was an absolutely sound military policy. For what happened? Had it not been for those organisations that we improvised, the Germans would have secured all the resources which would have enabled them to break the blockade. They would have got through to the grain of the Don, to the minerals of the Urals, and to the oils of the Caucasus. They could have supplied themselves with almost every

commodity of which four or five years of rigid blockade had deprived them, and which was essential to their conducting the war. In fact, the Eastern Front was reconstructed—not on the Vistula. It was reconstructed at a point that hurled the German armies to their own destruction, and, when they got there, deprived them of all the things they had set out to seek. What happened? Bolshevism threatened to impose, by force of arms, its domination on those populations that had revolted against it, and that were organised at our request. If we, as soon as they had served our purpose, and as soon as they had taken all the risks, had said, "Thank you; we are exceedingly obliged to you. You have served our purpose. We need you no longer. Now let the Bolshevists cut your throats," we should have been mean—we should have been thoroughly unworthy indeed of any great land. As long as they stand there, with the evident support of the populations—because wherever the populations are not behind them, every organised effort to resist Bolshevism has failed—in the Ukraine, where the population is either indifferent, or, perhaps (friendly, we have there populations like those in Siberia, the Don, and elsewhere, who are opposed to Bolshevism), they are offering a real resistance.

It is our business, since we asked them to take this step, since we promised support to them if they took this step, and since by taking this stand they contributed largely to the triumph of the Allies, it is our business to stand by our friends. Therefore, we are not sending troops, but we are supplying goods. Everyone who knows Russia knows that

if she is to be redeemed, she must be redeemed by her own sons. All that they ask is—seeing that the Bolsheviks secured the arsenals of Russia—that they should be supplied with the necessary arms to enable them to fight for their own protection and freedom in the land where the Bolsheviks are antipathetic to the feeling of the population. Therefore, I do not in the least regard it as departure from the fundamental policy of Great Britain not to interfere in the internal affairs of any land that we should support General Denikin, Admiral Koltchak, and General Kharkow.

As far as food is concerned, they are very well off. The Don is a very rich country, and we have not heard that there is any suffering in those parts. What more are we doing? This is so important a part of the policy of the Allies that I am bound to take up some time in order to explain it.

The next item in our policy is what I call to arrest the flow of the lava—that is, to prevent the forcible eruption of Bolshevism into Allied lands. For that reason, we are organising all the forces of the Allied countries bordering on Bolshevist territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea—Poland, Czecho-slovakia, and Rumania. There is no doubt that the populations are anti-Bolshevist. I had the pleasure of meeting M. Paderewski the other day. He had just come from Poland, and he told me that the Polish population were bitterly anti-Bolshevist. The Czecho-slovakian statesmen—a very able body of men—told me exactly the same thing about Bohemia, and the same observation applies to Rumania. If Bolshevism attacks any of our Allies, it is our business to defend them.

For that reason we are supplying all these countries with the necessary equipment to set up a real barrier against invasion by force of arms. The Bolshevists may menace, or they may not. Whether they do so or not, we should be ready for any attempt to overrun Europe by force. That is our policy. But we want peace in Russia. The world will not be pacified so long as Russia is torn and rent by civil war. We made one effort. I make no apology for that. That was an effort to make peace among the warring sections, not by recognising any Government, but by inducing them to come together, with a view to setting up some authority in Russia which would be acceptable to the whole of the Russian people, and which the Allies could recognise as the Government of that great people. We insisted that it was necessary they should cease fighting before they started to negotiate. With one accord, I regret to say, they refused to assent to this essential condition, and therefore the effort was not crowned with success. They would not accede to the request that they should cease fighting. On the contrary, they suggested that we were doing it purely because our friends were getting the worst of it. That fact itself shows that the time has not yet arrived for securing the pacification of Russia by means of any outside pressure. I do not despair of a solution being found. There are factors in the situation even now which are promising. Reliable information which we have received indicates that while the Bolshevist forces are apparently growing in strength, Bolshevism itself is rapidly on the wane. It is breaking down before the relentless pressure of economic facts. This

process must inevitably continue. You cannot carry on a great country upon rude and wild principles such as those which are inculcated by the Bolsheviks.

When Bolshevism, as we know it, and as Russia to her sorrow has known it, disappears, then the time will come for another effort at re-establishing peace in Russia. But that time is not yet. We must have patience, and we must have faith. You are dealing with a nation which has been misgoverned for centuries, and been defeated and trampled to the ground, largely, let us admit, owing to the corruption, the inefficiency and the treachery of its own governors. Its losses have been colossal. That is why a nation which has gone through untold horrors has abandoned itself for the moment to fantastic and hysterical experiments. But there are unmistakable signs that Russia is emerging from the trouble. When that time comes, when she is once more sane, calm and normal, we shall make peace in Russia. Until we can make peace in Russia, it is idle to say that the world is at peace.

Of course there are constantly men of all nationalities, coming from and going to Russia, always coming back with their own tales from Russia. But we have had nothing authentic. We have had no approaches of any sort or kind. I have heard only of reports that others have got proposals which they assume have come from authentic quarters, but these have never been put before the Peace Conference by any member of that Conference. Therefore we have not considered them.

I should now like to say something about the general question of the peace. After very prolonged

discussions, not an hour of which was wasted, the representatives of the Great Powers have arrived at a complete understanding on the great fundamental questions that affect the peace of Germany. We have formulated our demands, and I hope that by the end of next week they will be presented. I should like to say one or two words about the very unfortunate attempts which have been made to sow dissension, distrust and suspicion between the nations, whose solidarity and good will towards each other is essential to the whole of civilisation. I cannot conceive at the present moment a worse crime than to attempt to sow strife, distrust, and suspicion between those people whose good will, whose co-operation, whose common action, whose common sacrifice have just saved the world from disaster. Those things can be done in our domestic politics, and no great harm ensues, even though it be due to false rumours and misrepresentation. You can do them with impunity, but to do them now, in the very greatest crisis of the world's history, when nothing can save the world but keeping the nations together, is an outrage. No discussions could ever have been more friendly. Never was a greater desire shown to understand each other's point of view and to make allowance for that point of view.

The idea that America and Europe have been at hopeless variance is untrue. No one could have treated more sympathetically the peculiar problem and the special susceptibilities of Europe, with long and bitter memories of national conflicts, than President Wilson. Nor have we during the whole of these Conferences ever forgotten the poignant fact that most

of the sufferings and sacrifices of this war were borne by the heroic land in whose capital the conditions of peace have been determined. We have not forgotten that France, within living memory, has been rent and torn by the same savage enemy. We have not forgotten that she is entitled not merely to security against a repetition of attack, but that she is entitled to a keener sense of security against it. Upon all the questions which have come before us we have come to conclusions which are unanimous. . . .

Before the war was over, we stated our peace terms. On behalf of the Government I made a considered statement—which was considered by every member of the Cabinet, and by the Trade Union Conference—of what we conceived to be the terms on which we could make peace with the enemy. That was last year. At that time those terms received the adhesion of every section of opinion in this country. There was no protest from any quarter. A few days afterwards President Wilson proposed his famous "Fourteen Points" which practically embodied the same proposals. I am referred to my speeches before the last election. There are some who suggest that at the last election I and my colleagues were rushed into declarations of which now we are rather ashamed, and wish to get out of. I do not wish to get out of them in the least. These declarations were adopted by, I think, every political leader of every section.

I took the trouble to find out what was said by Mr. Asquith with regard to indemnities and the punishment of the Kaiser. I find that Mr. Asquith, immediately afterwards, said he was in favour of exacting from the wrongdoer the uttermost farthing.

Speaking at East Fife the day after my Bristol speech, someone asked him : " Would you make the Germans pay for the war," Mr. Asquith replied : " Yes. I am in agreement in that matter with what the Prime Minister said yesterday." I am not putting that as criticism, but as an answer to the criticism that I committed myself very indiscreetly, under pressure from the electors, to something from which other statesmen have abstained. On the contrary, I believe if my right hon. friend will look at the speeches of some of his associates—I rather think he had a walk-over—he will find statements which are very much of the same kind as that. I do not like that kind of high-lined criticisms, which refer to electioneering speeches as though I was the only man who ever made electioneering speeches. There are others. So that those pledges were not the pledges merely of my colleagues and myself, but of every political leader. I tell the House at once that if on reflection, and if after examination of the problem with the statesmen of other lands—who have not had to fight an election, and therefore could take a calmer and more detached view of these problems—if, after coming in contact with them, I had arrived at the conclusion that I had gone too far, and pledged the Government and the country to something that I could not carry out, I should have come down here and said so, because it would have been folly, even for an electioneering pledge, to imperil the people of Europe. Then the House of Commons, of course, would have been free to take its own action. But, so far from my coming here to ask for reconsideration—to ask release from any pledge or promise which I have given—I am here

to say that all the outlines of peace that we have ever given to the public and asked them to make sacrifices to obtain—every pledge we have given with regard to what we pressed for insertion in the peace terms is incorporated in the demands which have been put forward by the Allies. I observe that some of these pledges are published. I am going to issue an invitation to some enterprising newspaper that when the peace terms, the peace demands put forward by the Allies, come to be published there should be published in parallel columns the pledges and the promises made by the Government.

That is all I am going to say about the peace terms —all that I think it would be wise to say. It will be said that we have pressed for these at the last moment because of the great agitation and of the various communications we have received. I have the greatest respect for all those communications. But, will my hon. friends believe me, we put forward those terms from the very beginning. We never swerved one iota from them. I told the House that when I came here some weeks ago. We stand by them, because we think they are just.

We want peace. We want a peace which will be just, but not vindictive. We want a stern peace, because the occasion demands it. The crime demands it. But its severity must be designed, not to gratify vengeance, but to vindicate justice. Every clause and term in those conditions must be justified on that ground. Above all, we want to protect the future against a repetition of the horrors of this war, by making the wrongdoer repair the wrong and the loss which he has inflicted by his wanton aggression ; by

punishing any individual who is responsible ; by depriving of their weapon the nations that have menaced the peace of Europe for half a century with a flourishing sword ; by avoiding conditions which would create a legitimate sense of wrong, which would excite national pride needlessly to seek opportunities for redress ; and by giving the most permanent security to the nations of the earth to federate for a firm purpose of maintaining right.

House of Commons. April 17, 1919.

This is the greatest gathering of European nations which has ever been assembled in this Continent, and having regard to the magnitude of the assembly, the character of its representation, the importance of the topics we are here to discuss, the results of the conference will be far-reaching in their effects, either for better or for worse, upon the destiny not merely of Europe, but of the whole world.

We meet on equal terms provided we accept equal conditions. We are not here as belligerents and neutrals. We have not come together as Monarchists or Republicans or Sovietists. We are assembled as representatives of all the nations and peoples of Europe to seek out in common the best methods for restoring the shattered prosperity of this Continent, so that we may each build up in his own land, each in his own way, a better condition of things for our people than the world has yet enjoyed. But if we meet on terms of equality it must be because we accept equal conditions. These conditions the

inviting Powers laid down at Cannes. They apply to all alike. They are the conditions which have hitherto been accepted by all civilised communities as the basis of international good faith. They are in themselves honourable. They are essential to any intercourse between nations. They do not derogate from the complete sovereignty of States. We fully accept them ourselves. They are the only conditions upon which we can consent to deal with others. I will summarise them in two or three sentences. The first is that when a country enters into contractual obligations with another country or its nationals for value received, that contract cannot be repudiated whenever a country changes its Government without returning the value. The second is that no country can wage war on the institutions of another. The third is that one nation shall not engage in aggressive operations against the territory of another. The fourth is that the nationals of one country shall be entitled to impartial justice in the courts of another. If any people reject these elementary conditions of civilised intercourse between nations, they cannot be expected to be received into the comity of nations. These conditions were laid down at Cannes. They were incorporated in the invitation to this conference. They are the fundamental basis of its proceedings, and all those who accepted the invitation must be presumed to have accepted the conditions, and I have every reason to believe that that is the view which every nation represented at this assembly is prepared to adhere to in the letter and in the spirit.

Mr. President, you have set out in forceful language

the object of this conference. Europe undoubtedly needs a common effort to repair the devastation wrought by the most destructive war ever waged in this world. That war came to an end over three years ago. Europe, exhausted with its fury, with the loss of blood and treasure which it involved, is staggering under the colossal burdens of debt and reparation which it entailed. The pulse of commerce is beating feebly and wildly ; in some lands an artificial activity is stimulated either by demands for repairing the ravages of war or by generations of thrift by the frugal and industrious amongst the people. But legitimate trade, commerce, and industry are everywhere disorganised and depressed. There is unemployment in the West ; there is famine and pestilence in the East. Peoples of all races, of all classes, are suffering, some more and some less, but all are suffering, and unless some common effort of all the nations of Europe is made, and made immediately, to restore European efficiency, I can see symptoms, not merely that the suffering will continue but that it may even deepen into despair. What is the need of Europe ? Peace—a real peace. We propose to study currency—good. We propose to examine the question of exchanges ; that is also good. We propose to discuss transport and credit ; that is all good. But unless peace is established and goodwill amongst the nations, all these discussions will be of no avail. On the other hand, if a real peace is the issue of this conference, all those things will be added unto you. But there is no peace in Europe. It is true that actual fighting has ceased ; but the snarling goes on ; and, as there are many

dogs in every country who imagine the louder they bark the deeper the impression they make of their ferocity and determination, Europe is deafened with this canine clamour. It is undignified ; it is distracting ; it destroys confidence ; it rattles the nerves of a nerve-ruined continent ; and we shall only make a real contribution to the restoration of Europe if at this conference we can stop the snarling. Europe needs rest, quiet, tranquillity ; that is, it needs peace. If we act together in the same spirit we shall succeed —not in the spirit of a greedy vigilance over selfish interests, but with a common desire to do the best to restore the world to its normal condition of health and vigour. We shall do so, if we measure the success of the conference by the good we achieve, and not by the good we prevent. We must not roll boulders in the front of the ploughs. Let us think more of what we can accomplish than of what we can restrict. We have all of us one common restriction in the public opinion of our own countries. The public opinion of one country is concentrated perhaps more upon one aspect of affairs and the public opinion of another upon a different object. That undoubtedly creates difficulties. It is not easy to reconcile these diverging opinions, even when they are not conflicting. But public opinion is not a rigid fact like the Alps or the Apennines. It is amenable to guidance, to direction, and to the appeal of reason and of conscience, and I feel confident that in every way it will yield a good deal to an appeal made to its mind and heart by the common statesmanship of Europe. It can be taught that the good of another country is not necessarily an evil for its own one : on the

contrary, that what benefits all lands must necessarily be the best for its own. The world is one economic unit. Economically it is not even two hemispheres : it is one round, unbroken sphere. For that reason I regret that the great American Republic is not represented here. However, much that has happened and is happening in Europe makes them cautious of interfering in our affairs. But if we can set these things right at this conference, I feel sure that America will not merely come in, but come in gladly.

A distinguished citizen of this city once upon a time discovered America, and, as Genoa in the past discovered America to Europe, I am hopeful that Genoa once more will render another immortal service to humanity by rediscovering Europe to America. There are thirty-four nations represented at this table, and the interest taken in the conference by the world is by no means exhausted by that representation. The press of practically the world is represented. They would not be here if the great publics which, according to their genius, they either fortify and instruct, or alarm and chasten, were not deeply concerned in our proceedings and anxious as to the results. The world will follow our deliberations with alternate hopes and fears. If we fail, there will be a sense of despair which will sweep over the whole world. If we succeed, a ray of confidence will illuminate the gloom which is resting on the spirit of mankind. Europe is the cradle of a great civilisation which during the last five hundred years has spread across the globe. That civilisation has been menaced with destruction by the horrors of

the last few years; but if we do our duty manfully and fearlessly, we shall prove that this conference, meeting as it does in the Sacred Week of that civilisation, is capable of achieving its exalted purpose by establishing on a firm basis peace and goodwill amongst men.

Genoa. April 10, 1922.

The object of any Government in this country ought to be to get a League of Nations in which the great nations of the earth, as well as the small, will be enrolled for the purpose of achieving an enduring guarantee for peace on earth and goodwill amongst men. . . .

It is said that Britain is not going to extend her responsibilities. That is right. But she must not be afraid of her responsibilities. A Britain that goes to the councils of the world afraid of her responsibilities is a Britain that will cease to count from that moment. I believe, and I have acted on that belief, that the policy of Britain is to be peace-loving but unafraid. She has her mission. Britain has her mission, Britain has her message. If she does not carry it out boldly she will have forfeited the great trust which Providence placed in her when it planted her as an island in the deep, standing alone, strong, firm, with a resolute people, with a fair people, with a calm people, to see that judgment was secured in Europe.

London (*Hotel Victoria*). *October* 25, 1922.

The war has left behind an unsettled earth. I am not one of those who say that it is better to have fought and won than not to have fought at all. If the war could have been averted, it would have been a myriad-fold better for humanity.

Those who have suffered most have learnt its lesson the least. Mankind is unteachable where its prejudices and its passions are implicated.

Unless war, the spirit of war, the temper of war—the acceptance of war as a tribunal—is completely torn out of the minds of men, the future fills me with dread.

It is no use talking of social reform. It is no use talking of redressing evils; for if there is another war, it will be such a war that even those who were in the last cannot conceive, and civilisation will be hurled into depths out of which it will take centuries for it to crawl painfully. The first great duty of Liberalism is, therefore, to ingerminate peace.

Manchester (*Free Trade Hall*). *April* 28, 1923.

A peace which keeps a nation in servitude for years to redeem even a just debt can never be a real peace. You might patch up a settlement. A nation might bow to force and accept something which in its heart it knew to be wrong, but that is not peace. It may appear for the moment to quench the fire. It has only driven it into the peat. One day it would flare up again and the forest catch fire, and the conflagration be the worst the world has witnessed.

A real peace must be based on justice, on respect

for right, not merely individual rights, but international rights. What next? Peace does not necessarily restore prosperity. It is not the end, it is only the beginning. Peace provides the opportunity for nations to work and build. Peace is not a magic wand that transfigures the landscape the moment it is waved. It is like the sunshine which ingerminates growth, which matures, which ripens, which fructifies. But it all takes time, and it will take a long time now because of the extent of the devastation.

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During the war the national interest was our first care. We mobilised the national interests to one end—the winning of the war. Our danger is still great. Let us mobilise the national resources—to make peace.

Private interests were ruthlessly subordinated during the war to the national need. That did not mean that there was any confiscation of private rights or property. It meant that the safety of the nation came first. All our strength and resources were concentrated upon saving the country from destruction. That is the spirit that achieved success. That is the spirit in which we must face the present crisis. It is just as grave, just as menacing as the crisis of the war. If we do not pull ourselves together in time, our proud position as the greatest commercial people in the world will pass away, and we shall see the gradual decay of our might. But if we display the same resolution, the same patriotism, the same gifts for meeting emergencies as we exhibited during the war,

we shall continue to grow in strength and in power. The task of Liberalism is to rouse the people to that sublime effort. It is not the chance of Liberalism ; it is the call of Liberalism, to build up, not to destroy, not to overthrow, but to reconstruct a State based on the principles of common sense, common right and common brotherhood.

Llandrindod Wells. September 7, 1923.

The restoration of peace in Europe after the Great War was no easy task for any statesman or combination of statesmen. The nations were sore, bleeding. There were provinces that had been devastated and not restored. They were angry, naturally angry, and the growl was still in the throat of the nations. It was not easy to make peace between 1919 and 1922.

In a manifesto issued by twelve Unionist Ministers, eight of them members of the present Administration, that fact was recognised. In that manifesto they referred to the difficulties which I encountered between 1918 and 1922 in establishing peace here and abroad. They paid me a very generous compliment for my efforts on that occasion. The first signature to that manifesto was Sir Austen Chamberlain's, and there were seven other members of the present Administration, including one whom I honour almost more than any other man in politics to-day, and that is Lord Balfour. I am proud of that. Why did Sir Austen Chamberlain change his mind ? What has happened since ? Has he been so dazzled by his own achievements in the same line that he is blind to what happened before, or what has happened up to now, or

what is going to happen in the future? The restoration of peace in the world is naturally a slow process. You can only proceed step by step. I discovered that. I hope Sir Austen Chamberlain has realised it. At first we could not induce France and Belgium to attend the conference where the German delegates were present to discuss anything. The first conference we were able to secure on that basis was at Spa in 1920. Then we had a conference in London —I think two conferences—and we discussed reparations. We cut down the claim by 60 per cent. at those conferences. Then we had a conference at Cannes and one at Genoa. Sir Austen, standing where I am now, said a fortnight ago that the meeting at Locarno was the first where the conquerors and vanquished met on equal terms. That is not approximately correct. At Genoa we met on perfectly equal terms. The same conference, the same sub-committees, private interviews, and we there secured a pact of non-aggression, solemnly undertaken by all the nations of Europe, including Russia. And the greatest achievement of the last League of Nations meeting at Genoa was that, on the initiative of the Polish delegates, the Genoa pact of non-aggression was renewed without the adhesion of Russia. M. Briand fully acknowledges that the Locarno arrangement was purely a development of the Cannes policy.

M. Briand is a man of great vision, imagination, and unrivalled experience. I wish Sir Austen Chamberlain, who has been treated very fairly in respect of Locarno, would make the same acknowledgment as his great colleague in France. But he is disposed to

imagine that Locarno was the first and the final step. Locarno was the beginning of the new world. Before Locarno, chaos. Europe, before Locarno, was without form and void, and darkness filled the earth. Then Locarno—and lo ! there was light. Science has taught us—I hope I shall not meet with the rebuke of bishops—that every creation is a matter of slow growth and evolution. But where Locarno is concerned, Sir Austen Chamberlain is a Fundamentalist.

It is very important, if there is going to be peace in the world, that Locarno should be simply treated as one of a series of steps and that you must get along from it. When the Locarno treaty was reported to the House of Commons, I said it was essential that it should be treated as a basis for disarmament and arbitration, and that unless it was it would be nothing better than a slobbering melodrama. That is my view at the present moment. Sir Austen made three allegations against me. First, that I talked with very little knowledge of the treaties which I helped to frame ; second, that I falsely excited hopes which cannot be fulfilled ; and third, that I falsely and recklessly distributed blame which had not been earned.

Those are very grave charges against any man, especially a man who has wielded vast responsibilities. Not a single tittle of evidence did he adduce or a single example did he give of one of those accusations. With all respect to Sir Austen, he is not so infallible that he is entitled to make charges against an old colleague without producing some proof.

He says that I am ignorant of the treaties. That

is very odd. I spent six months with President Wilson, Signor Orlando, and especially M. Clemenceau, framing the treaties. We discussed every sentence of them. I discussed them in Parliament, and recently I have renewed my acquaintance more than once with these treaties. Yet I know nothing about them! Well, it is a serious reflection on my memory, if not my intelligence.

As to the second accusation that I raised hopes which cannot be fulfilled, what are they? The first was that the Allied and conquering countries would fulfil the solemn pledges they gave at Versailles—that German, Austrian, and Bulgarian disarmament would be followed by disarmament of the conquering countries.

Who excited that hope? I have here the document which all the Allied representatives sent to Germany before they signed the treaty. Listen to this, the military clause:

> "The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression, they are also the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

That is a quotation from the document we handed to Germany as the solemn pledge of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and twenty other nations—that if Germany disarmed, we would follow the example.

Is that exciting a false hope? If it is, it is not a hope excited by me in a little speech at a League of

Nations meeting. It is a hope excited by the greatest nations of the world, through their representatives—signed, sealed, and delivered to Germany. Is that denied?

The next hope I excited which "cannot be fulfilled" is that disputes between nations would, if negotiations failed, be referred for settlement not to machine guns, cannon, bombs and poison-gas, but to peaceful arbitration based on right, reason and judgment. Is that a false hope? If it is, God help the world. It is a hope we ventured to put in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and it is enshrined there. The third hope was that jagged ends of the treaty, which are causing irritation, disturbing the peace of the nations, would be put right and smoothed through the agency of the League.

That hope was excited by a letter written by M. Clemenceau on behalf of President Wilson, Signor Orlando, and myself to the German delegates before they ever signed the document. Does Sir Austen Chamberlain now, on behalf of the British Government, say that those are three hopes which cannot be fulfilled? If he does, all I can say is it is the most serious condemnation of his foreign policy that has ever been uttered by friend or by foe.

I have been imputing blame. I dare say I have. Blame has been imputed to me which I have not earned, but this is a blame which is imputed to nations which has been earned. What is the blame imputed? First, that whereas the nations had pledged themselves to follow the example we forced on Germany by disarming themselves, they have taken no steps to do so.

What are the facts? I give them and challenge anyone to deny them. They are such vital facts to the peace of the world and the peace of the world is so vital to the life of civilisation that I am bound to repeat them. I said the conquering nations in the Great War, including the nations which came in when we were quite sure we were going to conquer, have at the present moment in the aggregate over ten millions of trained men, not merely well equipped, but better equipped for war than they were in 1914. The machinery is more perfect. By perfect I mean more ghastly, more destructive, more terrible, more shuddering. The machinery is more terrible than anything the world has seen even in the Great War. It is getting more terrible year by year. The best brains are at it devising machinery, not merely for attacking armies, but for attacking defenceless citizens.

I said ten millions. I underestimated the figure. We disarmed Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and said: "As soon as you disarm we will follow your example." They have in the aggregate about two to three hundred thousand soldiers not very well equipped, and the other countries have still got ten millions. They have not reduced those millions by a single division, by a single flight of aeroplanes, or by a single battery of guns. I say still it is dishonouring the solemn pledge we gave before the Germans and the rest ever signed the Treaty of Versailles. That is the blame I impute, and I stand by it.

What is the next? That territories in Europe have been annexed by force without consent of the League of Nations or of the Supreme Council. Is

that denied ? I say that those annexations as long as they remain will be a menace to peace in the world. Is that denied ?

We put in the Treaty of Versailles provisions for the protection of minorities in the new and re-created territories. There were clauses to protect their race, religion and traditions. Those clauses have been trampled upon. Is that denied ? If it is, what is the meaning of all that inquiry which Sir Austen himself presided over at the last meeting of the League of Nations ? I only want to say, let him give me a single particular in which the statements I made were in the least inaccurate, and I am prepared to answer him on any occasion where I can get an audience.

These matters were not a question of controversy between two old friends. They were matters so important that unless they were put right, the peace of Europe would be menaced. I ask for particulars. Well, I know Sir Austen has a view that these are delicate matters not to be talked about to common people. I remember when I was in the House of Commons, he indulged in some Olympian gestures of disapproval. But, even so, it is no justification for a charge of inaccuracy. I challenge the whole attitude of our not discussing these things freely and frankly. Complete frankness in discussing these things is essential to peace. That " hush, hush " policy which prevailed before the war, whenever you came to foreign policy, is responsible for the death of over ten millions of the young men of Europe. If we had had frank discussions of the events which led to the war, you would have had no war.

The war shattered the Olympian tradition, and

rightly so. The gods had landed their worshippers in a quagmire of blood. There is an attempt to repair and to glue together the splinters of the Jovian throne. That accounts for the revolt of the nations at the last meeting at Geneva. What did it mean? The nations turned round and said, "No more lath and plaster Olympians."

The god who is always piling incense on his own altar is a sorry spectacle. I really wish Sir Austen would cultivate a little more detachment and not take himself quite so seriously. Unless Europe advances beyond Locarno—it is a step—unless the advance be towards arbitration and disarmament, I say, from a long knowledge of the conditions in Europe, war is inevitable. Why, there is no agreement amongst the signatories themselves about Locarno.

Sir Austen, speaking here, never said a word about arbitration and not very much about disarmament. Guaranteeing an eastern frontier of France may lead to war. Arbitration can lead to nothing but peace. Arbitration is the only base of disarmament; disarmament is the only guarantee for arbitration. And arbitration and disarmament together are the only security for peace.

Let Sir Austen face these problems. He has rested long enough at Locarno. It is no use standing on the shores of Maggiore, like a stork on one leg, looking preternaturally wise, and looking very satisfied because he has swallowed one trout. Let him lift up his wings and proceed on his pilgrimage of peace. M. Briand has done this. He is now sending the dove of peace to Washington to make a treaty between

France and America. Let Sir Austen Chamberlain follow that fine example; and if to-day by casting a few stones at him I have stirred him up and made him spread his pinions, I shall have made some contribution towards the peace of the future.

London (*Aldwych Club*). *November* 7, 1927.

RECONSTRUCTION

Wolverhampton Speech

We have just emerged from a great peril. We have emerged triumphantly. The greatness of the peril we can hardly conceive at the present moment. It will take time for us fully to appreciate its vastness. The greatness of the triumph we cannot fully estimate now. I met a man the other day who came to me and said, " This victory is so vast that I can only take it in in parts." I think that that was one of the truest things said of our triumph. He said, " I see one phase of it to-day, and to-morrow I see another, and the third day I see another." That is true about the danger we have averted and about the victory which we have achieved.

As to our sailors, never has the record of the British Navy been so glorious ; never have its men and its leaders shown greater skill, greater resource, greater daring, greater efficiency, or higher qualities of seamanship. Never has the supremacy of our Navy been challenged so resolutely and by such insidious means. Never has its triumph been so complete. The world, and especially the freedom of the world, owes much to the Navy of Britain. The Navy of Britain saved freedom of conscience in the days of Elizabeth, when it was challenged by a great and mighty Empire. It saved it time and again when freedom was in peril in the days of Napoleon. To-day the freedom

of the world owes everything to the daring, to the tenacity, and to the valour of the men of the British Navy. And as for our soldiers, it is difficult to talk about them. The dauntless courage which they have displayed during the last four and a half years—human courage, human endurance, has never in the history of the world been put to such a trying and continuous test as during the last four and a half years, and the heroism of the British soldiers stood it to the very last hour of the conflict.

It is not an hour for boasting. It is an hour for thanks. Still, the dramatic incidents of Thursday, when a German fleet came to the North of Scotland, is something which fills us with pride. When you see thirty years of an arduous and dangerous conspiracy stealing into a British harbour to lower its flag to the British Fleet, it is something for us to be proud of. To this triumph all classes of the people have contributed. There have been no distinctions of rank. There has been no difference of creed, of faith, of state, of conditions of life, of opinion. All ranks, all creeds, all faiths, all opinions have contributed to this memorable sacrifice to save the world. And it is with the knowledge of that that we approach the next problem. There is the readiness with which thousands of young men, tens of thousands of young men, left comfortable and luxurious homes to face privation, torture and death, and the stateliest homes of England to-day are often the most desolate at this hour.

On the other land, the country realises in a way it never did before how much it owes to the citizens who dwell in its humblest homes, and how much the

honour of the country depends upon them. Had it not been for the noble patriotic impulse which sent millions of them thronging to the flag, what would have happened? The British Empire, make no mistake about it, for I know the peril—I could see the peril working from inside, and I know where the dangers were—had it not been for these millions of men who came from humble homes to lay their lives on the altar of their country, the British Empire might have been swept away, and at this moment we might have been cowering—cowering at the feet of the most arrogant masters that ever bullied the world. This knowledge of a common sacrifice, of a common brotherhood of suffering and effort, has sunk deep into the minds of the people of this country, and it is with that knowledge that we are approaching the next great enterprise that is in front of us. We all feel that these heroic men made a new world possible, and they are entitled to a full share of its gratitude.

There is, as I never witnessed before, a new comradeship of classes, and I am glad, as an old political fighter—who has been hard hit and has been able to return the blows, always in a spirit of meekness—that we are approaching the new problems in a spirit of comradeship. Let us keep it as long as we can. I have no doubt human nature will prevail yet, but for the moment let us finish the task together, and when we have finished it, then let us play political football. You can afford to do it then. But the work is not over yet—the work of the nation, the work of the people, the work of those who have sacrificed. Let us work together first.

What is our task? To make Britain a fit country for heroes to live in. I am not using the word "heroes" in any spirit of boastfulness, but in the spirit of humble recognition of the fact. I cannot think what these men have gone through. I have been there at the door of the furnace and witnessed it, but that is not being in it, and I saw them march into the furnace. There are millions of men who will come back. Let us make this a land fit for such men to live in. There is no time to lose. I want us to take advantage of this new spirit. Don't let us waste this victory merely in ringing joybells. Let us make victory the motive power to link the old land up in such measure that it will be nearer the sunshine than ever before, and that at any rate it will lift those who have been living in the dark places to a plateau where they will get the rays of the sun. We cannot undertake that without a new Parliament. The old Parliament has done its duty. I have not a word to say about it—but it has exhausted its mandate; and when you are beginning a great task of this kind, you must get the inspiration which comes from the knowledge that you have the people behind you in the business which you have undertaken. What have we got to do? I will tell you a few of the things—not all of the things—which we must do. Those of you who have been at the front have seen the star shells, how they light up the darkness and illuminate all the obscure places. The Great War has been like a gigantic star shell, flashing all over the land, illuminating the country and showing up the dark, deep places. We have seen places that we have never noticed before, and we mean to put these things right.

What is the first thing the great war has shown us? The appalling waste of human material in the country. There is hardly any material placed by Providence in this country which is so much wasted as human life and human strength and human intellect—the most precious and irreplaceable material of all. I have previously said something about the figures of the recruiting officers. Those who were in charge of recruiting came to the conclusion that if the people of this country had lived under proper conditions, were properly fed and housed, had lived under healthy conditions—had lived their lives in their full vigour—you could have had a million more men available and fit to put into the army. It is not merely that. When life has not been lost, its vitality has been depressed. There are millions who are below par. You cannot keep even animals in their full vigour unless you give them good conditions. You cannot do it with men and women, and you cannot bring up children under bad conditions. There are millions of men's lives which have been lost as a result of the war, but there are millions more of maimed lives in the sense of undermined constitutions through atrocious social conditions in consequence of the terrors of this great war. You must put that right. Put it at its lowest—trade, commerce and industry all suffer through it. A vigorous community of strong, healthy men and women is more valuable even from the commercial and industrial point of view than a community which is below par in consequence of bad conditions. Treat it if you like not as a human proposition, but as a business proposition. It is good business to see

that the men, the women and the children of this country are brought up and sustained under conditions that will give strength and vigour to their frames, more penetration and endurance to their intelligence, and more spirit and heart than ever to face the problems of life which will always be problems that will require fighting right from the cradle to the tomb. That is the first problem. One of the ways of dealing with that is, of course, to deal with housing conditions. Slums are not fit homes for the men who have won this war or for their children. They are not fit nurseries for the children who are to make an Imperial race, and there must be no patching up. This problem has got to be undertaken in a way never undertaken before, as a great national charge and duty. It is too much to leave it merely to municipalities. Some of them are crippled from the restricted income placed at their disposal. Some are crippled from the fact that they have crushing burdens of another character, and some are good and some are not good. Therefore the housing of the people must be a national concern.

What is the next revelation of the Great War? The enormous waste of the resources of our land. What do I mean? I mean on the surface and under the surface. Britain is a rich country so far as its soil is concerned. We import hundreds of millions of our supplies from abroad. I do not mean to say that we can grow them all, but we can grow a very much larger proportion of our supplies than we have done in past years. Take food. You can grow vast quantities of food in this country for which you have been dependent on foreign imports, but you want a

much more intelligent policy than that. The land must be cultivated to its full capacity. That ought to be an essential feature in the new Britain. During the last two years we have made special efforts to increase the cultivation of the land because we were not sure what might happen as the result of the submarine campaign, and we had made up our minds that whatever happened the submarines were not going to starve us. So we undertook a great agricultural policy. But you must remember that we were doing it with great difficulties. Scores of thousands of our best agricultural labourers had gone to the front. Many of the farmers' sons and of the farmers themselves had gone, and the soil had been impoverished of its best labour, and we had to undertake increased cultivation of land with reduced labour. In spite of the reduced labour we increased the area of cultivation in Great Britain and Ireland by four million acres. How was that done? By a great combined effort. We brought the landlords in and the farmers in, and the labourers in and everybody who was concerned with the cultivation of the land. We got them all to work together for that purpose, and in two years, with reduced labour, we brought back the cultivation of England to where it was forty or fifty years ago. If you can do that with reduced labour, what can you do when the men are back on the land, and when you have more time to work out your plans? After all, we had to improvise plans. We had to rush them through. They were necessarily crude. There were mistakes here and there, as will always happen when a thing has to be done in a hurry. Now you have more time to work out your

plans with more men, but a systematic effort must be made to bring a population back to the land.

I am not sure that we fully realise how that will react upon other problems. If you bring a population back to the land it relieves pressure on the labour market, and it sustains the labour market. I spent a good many years of my life in Wales. There I lived in an agricultural area. South Wales is an industrial area, but the industrial area was fed from the agricultural area, and if it had not been that you had the agricultural area to send fresh vigorous life there to sustain those industries, they could not have been carried on. So a great agricultural policy is a great industrial policy. It relieves the labour market, and when you have periods of depression there is always the land. You don't have the same competition that throws men out of employment. On the other hand you have a nursery to train vigorous men who will sustain other industries, and unless you have agriculture to do that, believe me you cannot keep alive an industrial system in this country.

An intelligent agricultural policy is the basis of a great industrial policy, and a systematic effort must be made to bring people back to the land. That is the place to grow strong men. The touch of the soil reinvigorates and re-enforces. When there are any signs of exhaustion, bring them back to the mother land, and the old life that is in the veins of Britain flows through them, and you will find them reinvigorated and strong. Give back the people, as many as you can, to the cultivation of the soil. But it must be done systematically. It must be done intelligently. We must sweep aside prejudices. The

difficulty, believe me, is not with interests, it is with prejudice. And that is equally true in every business. People talk about the vested interests. It is not the vested interests I am afraid of, it is the vested prejudices. Sweep these away and the State can easily deal with interests. You must see the land is cultivated with full capacity. You cannot get anywhere unless you make a road for the people to arrive at better conditions. Therefore let us prepare a road and do not let us be impatient about it. You must do these things in a spirit of patience, and in a spirit of indomitable resolution. Impatient people lack the second very often. They want to get there at once, and if they do not, they give it up. That is not the way to do things in England or anywhere else. You must see that the land is cultivated properly, and there is a better chance of doing it than there was forty or fifty years ago. The principles of farming are different. Science is coming into the farming industry like any other industry. The capacity of the soil can be utilised to a much greater extent than it could forty or fifty years ago. But you must do it on scientific principles. You must have a national supply of fertilisers that the Government ought to take care to make available.

There is another way the Government can help. You must have increased security for all capital that is spent upon the land. No man will spend his capital anywhere, whether it is in industry or agriculture, unless he is quite certain that he is going to get an adequate return for it and that it will not be confiscated. You must eliminate the incompetent cultivator. You must have scientific production, which involves more

complete and thorough training. Training for the cultivation of the land ought to be a very special concern of the Government. You must have reclamation of waste land. That cannot be undertaken by individual owners for the simple reason that it may not depend entirely on them. For instance, there is the draining. It is no use your draining one part if you know that the next part is not drained. Therefore reclamation has got to be a connected effort directed by the State, and at the present moment there are hundreds of thousands of acres that on investigation have been demonstrated to be capable of being reclaimed.

You also have forest lands which are unsuitable for higher cultivation. You have no idea how we were handicapped because we had to bring timber from Norway and Sweden and Canada, when you have plenty of land in this country that in the old days used to grow fine timber. There is no healthier occupation for the people than the planting, looking after, and cutting down of trees. Those of you who have lived amongst trees know that you get to love them. Life amongst trees is an ideal life. Get as many people as you can to plant them on hills. Ah! that makes a difference. Above all, you must have an improved system of cheap and rapid transportation. I may go into that later on, because I attach great importance to it. If you do all these things in the course of the next few years, you will see an enormous increase in the output from British soil, and you will have a fine, healthy, happy population living on the land, and that in itself is a source of strength to any country.

Now I come to the next point. There must be a scheme for settling the gallant soldiers and sailors on the land. Those of you who have read the history of Rome know how this was a problem that always came up after every war. You will recollect that the great Emperor Augustus finally settled the soldiers on the land, and it was only then that you had really peace and prosperity in the Roman Empire. Now, that is a lesson. I do not say that all the soldiers will go back to the land. The vast majority will return to their old occupations. But I am told that a good many of them who have been living an open-air life do not want to return to the close atmosphere of the workshop and factory. If that is the case, they ought to have the opportunity of living on the land, but they ought to be trained for the purpose. It is no use putting a man who has been used to living in a shop straight away to take charge of a small holding and run it himself. I am not sure he would know the difference between the various vegetables. It requires training, like any other industry, and you must provide that training to begin with.

What do we propose to do? There are those who prefer little allotments, and others who prefer a house and garden where they can earn their living at the old trades. Those different classes must be provided for, and the first thing to do is to set up the machinery in each area to ascertain how many soldiers and sailors there are who want to go on the land, what their special qualifications are and what training they need. Then you must have a grant for the purchase of the necessary land and for the equipment of the holdings. The State must assist in the equipment where the

man is a vigorous, healthy, intelligent fellow who is able to run the holding. You know that, whatever the grant, it will be small compared with the cost of the war. Two days of that war—not two years, not two months, but two days of that war—will provide you with a vast number of allotments and small holdings and equip them. But for these heroic men you would have had not merely another two days, but another two hundred days and more. This is the least we can do.

The value of land is not confined to the surface of the land. This is a very rich country in its soil. It is not merely the surface of the country ; but it is rich in minerals, one of the richest countries. We have never made full use of our rich coalfields, about the richest in the world, and I am perfectly certain that by combined effort it would be possible to convert a good deal of that coal into electric power, which will assist in our manufactures and which will do another thing that I consider very important : it will enable us to provide rural industries, the old rural industries where people were able to earn their living under the healthiest conditions throughout the whole land. You have got that in many places on the Continent, and all that is of value. It will assist in the vital problems. One of the most vital problems is the development, shall I say the resuscitation, the resurrection of the dead rural life. I am not going into these things, because I cannot in a speech or in many speeches give details.

There is the question of improved transportation, one of the most important questions. This is essential to all other projects. Take housing. You cannot

approach re-housing inside a town. The space is limited. Your housing schemes must, in the majority of cases, be schemes outside the town. That is your only chance to get land. Otherwise, you will simply be building up something which will sooner or later develop into another set of slums. You don't want that. I want to see these all gone before the second war is over, the war against poverty, against wretchedness ; I would like to see, before the end of that war, slums, inhuman conditions, wretchedness, sailing in one after the other to surrender like the German Fleet—sunk they should be to the bottom of the sea, where no human eyes shall look at their degradation. . . . You must, therefore, even in such matters as housing, have good services of trains, light railways, lorries and whatever enables people and goods to pass along great spaces, in order to make use of the surface of England with all its beauty, and Wales and Scotland, and I don't despair of Ireland.

Agriculture—that is very largely a question of transport. It is a question of getting the produce cheaply to the market and quickly to the market. At the present moment, at least before the war, you could get agricultural produce from foreign countries hundreds of miles away carried across the seas more cheaply than the farmer could bring it fifty miles to a market. That is sheer stupidity.

I should like to put the plan as a whole before you. It is not merely a question of carrying goods cheaply—the food and products of the farmer, the small-holder, and the allotment-holder—to the market. It is a question of carrying to the farmer, to the allotment-holder, what he needs to cultivate his land.

With a cheap, quick transportation you can regenerate rural England in such a way as you cannot do by any other means, and I consider, therefore, that to be one of the most important matters.

I should also like, if I had time, to develop the importance of canals. The Midlands ought to have canal communication with the sea. In Germany, in France, great towns and cities like these would certainly be in communication with the main waterways that carry things to the sea. There is no country that has made less use of its water power, and Heaven knows there is plenty of water in this country ! The war has demonstrated that transportation is a service for which the State should accept direct responsibility. I will tell you one special reason for that, apart from others. Unless that happens, the poorer neighbourhoods will always suffer. If you leave it entirely to private enterprise—and private enterprise always goes for the fat—it goes for the rich, thronging neighbourhood, where there is a return to be had. The State, on the other hand, has many interests ; and when there is a loss on one thing, the State makes a profit on another.

But the State has an interest in populating the rural areas and developing new industries. You cannot pay good wages—and these are essential in order to enable people to keep up their strength and bring up their children—you cannot improve the conditions of the people, you cannot pay the enormous debt which this war has brought upon us, unless you increase production.

When I talk about production, I do not merely mean the production of the land, but I mean the

production of our industries as well, and in that respect the State ought to take a greater interest than it has done in the past. I believe in providing good markets at home, and you provide good markets at home if you develop the resources of your country, but you must also see that the State does its best to see that the markets abroad are also supplied. There are great arrears of supplies to be met throughout the world. For the last four or five years there have been no manufactures in the world. They have all been burned in the furnace of the war. Now, the world will be clamouring for those arrears to be made up, and there are new countries to be developed. Take Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia at one time was a great empire. That which was a great empire at one time with a great city of a million of population, is now desolate and in ruins. Why? It is the same soil, it is the same sun, it is the same river that flows through. It is simply bad government; and if you provide good government, that country will be as rich as ever; and it is the duty of Britain to see that that is so.

I am saying this because I want to bring you to the next point. In spite of the enormous losses of the war, there is an actual increase in the numbers who are capable of productive work in this country. The first reason is that there has been a complete arrest of emigration; the second and the more important fact is that you have had a very large number of women who have come for the first time into active productive work in our industries. And very excellent work they have done. No one knows what we should have done without them in the matter of

munitions—and I know that, having been Minister of Munitions. Now I believe it is possible to provide remunerative work for all, but it would take time to work out some of these plans which I have laid down. There will be necessarily some dislocation in the labour market. What we have to take care of is that during this period of dislocation there shall be no privation.

That is the programme. The difficulties of carrying it through are enormous. I don't mind telling you that when I see the difficulties, I feel I would like to shrink from them. We cannot do the work without real support. You must have a Parliament that will see these plans through. I know something of Parliamentary work. I have faced difficulties and I have made difficulties ; therefore I know it from both sides. It will be easy to criticise. You know the old adage—the house that is building is never like the house that is built. Unless you have a Parliament that is determined to see the thing through, and that will give its mind solely to the work without mere carping and nagging, you will find at the end of five years that it is not done. It is no use asking any Ministers or any Government to undertake this task, unless the nation is behind them, and makes it clear by its vote in this election that it is behind them.

It is when the stress of bad times comes that it is necessary to examine into the weaknesses of a business, to see whether there is waste here or inefficiency there, whether opportunities for expansion have been overlooked or neglected, and to see where departments must be reorganised and machinery scrapped.

Any good business man, after carefully examining the ground, acts boldly, courageously and resolutely. He does not palter and tinker, but he makes a good job of it. That time has arrived for Britain. If we act wisely and courageously, the whole nation will join in the prosperity. A prosperity of which only one class partakes is no prosperity at all. Every attempt to keep the sun shining on one class has ended by excluding it from every class. The war has been won by the unity of the classes and by the sacrifice of every rank and every condition of life. Patriotism is the common inheritance and virtue of all. Let us in these coming weeks see that Britain has not exhausted its patriotism, and then we shall see that the deep affection for the Old Country will well up from the deeps of our nature so as to fructify and enrich the land with the love of her children.

Wolverhampton. November 24, 1918.

I have given a good deal of thought to these financial provisions. I have done my best to think well of them. There was a good deal in the Budget [of 1925] that appealed to me personally. As the originator of the National Insurance in this country, I was very glad to see this bold extension of that principle, and, incidentally, I am looking forward to the satisfaction of seeing the Grand Dames of the Primrose League advising employers to lick stamps—because I have some recollection of their attitude in 1911. I wonder whether Tory stamps will be

more palatable than Radical stamps were. I am very glad to see the increase on the death duties as a means of increasing revenue. I have always been an advocate of it. I don't mind admitting that I have a personal prejudice in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I like him. He is one of those challenging personalities whom some people like very much, and some people hate very much. I belong, quite frankly, to the former class. I admire his dazzling mind, his brilliant mind, so brilliant as to dazzle his judgment. In fact, one of his troubles is that his headlights are rather blinding—and he finds it difficult to drive a straight course on the road, and to avoid smashing into the traffic. I am also prepared to make some allowances for his difficulties. We have all experienced them. He is now the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the party of amassed wealth, and the party which is suffering a good deal from a thwarted affection for the cause of Protection, and all those things have got to be taken into account. He has got to walk very warily. He has been wandering in a far country, where he has mixed with Radicals and Free-traders and animals of that kind, that are very obnoxious to his present associates, and therefore they probably suspect him of having acquired very bad tastes under those circumstances. Having taken all that into account I will tell you the conclusion I have come to about the Budget. It is rather like the English weather—very mixed, a good deal of variety in it. There is a little to please everybody, a vast deal that pleases nobody, and taken as a whole it requires a very strong constitution to stand it. It is very uncertain what the

effect will be, and you are never quite sure whether it is going to rot or to ripen the crops.

For instance, the restoration of the gold standard. I am greatly daring in mentioning this. There is a genuine and growing uneasiness undoubtedly about this. There are high authorities who are undoubtedly for it. There are other high authorities who are backing their hopes against their fears with diminishing odds; and there are high authorities who condemn it unreservedly. I notice that everybody who talks about it prefaces his observations by saying that he doesn't really understand it, but he always ends with a very dogmatic declaration on the subject. I am not going to be out of the fashion. I am going to do both. My view generally about it is that a good deal of the merit attributed to the gold standard really belongs to other causes. The stability and appreciation of our credit which we have seen in the course of the last few years since the war is attributable, in my judgment, to the fact that we are the only European country that took part in the war that has paid its way. Our Budget has balanced. We have always set aside something for the payment of debt. We have paid our foreign creditors or made arrangements to pay them. We were not afraid to meet our liabilities frankly, concealing nothing, and we were about the only belligerent country that has done that. What is the result?

The gold standard—it always strikes me that it is most useful when it is least needed. It comes in when the job is done, and claims the credit; and when you have the strain of a great emergency as we had some years ago, then we had frankly to abandon

it; and that is one of the reasons why I am not one of the worshippers of the golden calf. I do not believe in an ideal that does not see you through your troubles. In the war its altars were deserted, and the image was locked up. Now Mr. Winston Churchill has come and opened the cupboard with an American key. He has polished it up with his burnishing rhetoric. He has replaced it on its pedestal; and when they heard of it in the Valhalla of Wall Street, they started twanging their golden harps with joy.

London (*National Liberal Club*). *May* 8, 1925.

WAR

War arrests progress. There are those who insist that wars bring out the muscular qualities of a race. So does a fever. It brings out, in its utmost intensity, the muscular strength of a man, but it leaves him exhausted and broken. That is equally true of war. For every man that war has emancipated, millions have been enslaved. For every burden that it has cast down, it has imposed a myriad more. No greater honour could befall a country than to plant the banner of peace on the heights and rally the nations around it.

York. January 30, 1905.

Queen's Hall Speech

There is no man who has always regarded the prospect of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance and with greater repugnance than I have done throughout the whole of my political life. There is no man more convinced that we could not have avoided it without national dishonour. I am fully alive to the fact that every nation which has ever engaged in any war has always invoked the sacred name of honour. Many a crime has been committed in its name ; there are some being committed now. All the same, national honour is a reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed. Why is our

honour as a country involved in this war? Because, in the first instance, we are bound by honourable obligations to defend the independence, the liberty, the integrity of a small neighbour that has always lived peaceably. She could not have compelled us; she was weak; but the man who declines to discharge his duty because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard. We entered into a treaty—a solemn treaty—two treaties—to defend Belgium and her integrity. Our signatures are attached to the documents. Our signatures do not stand alone there; this country was not the only country that undertook to defend the integrity of Belgium. Russia, France, Austria, Prussia—they are all there. Why are Austria and Prussia not performing the obligations of their bond? It is suggested that when we quote this treaty it is purely an excuse on our part—it is our low craft and cunning to cloak our jealousy of a superior civilisation that we are attempting to destroy. Our answer is the action we took in 1870. What was there? Mr. Gladstone was then Prime Minister. Lord Granville, I think, was then Foreign Secretary. I have never heard it laid to their charge that they were ever Jingoes.

What did they do in 1870? That treaty bound us then. We called upon the belligerent Powers to respect it. We called upon France and we called upon Germany. At that time, bear in mind, the greatest danger to Belgium came from France and not from Germany. We intervened to protect Belgium against France, exactly as we are doing to protect her against Germany. We proceeded in exactly the same way. We invited both the belligerent Powers to

state that they had no intention of violating Belgian territory. What was the answer given by Bismarck? He said it was superfluous to ask Prussia such a question in view of the treaties in force. France gave a similar answer. We received at that time the thanks of the Belgian people for our intervention in a very remarkable document. It is a document addressed by the municipality of Brussels to Queen Victoria after that intervention. It reads:

> "The great and noble people over whose destiny you preside has just given a further proof of its benevolent sentiments towards our country. . . . The voice of the English Nation has been heard above the din of arms, and it has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence, the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude."

That was in 1870. Mark what followed. Three or four days after that document of thanks, a French army was wedged up against the Belgian frontier, every means of escape shut out by a ring of flame from Prussian cannon. There was one way of escape. What was that? Violating the neutrality of Belgium. What did they do? The French on that occasion preferred ruin and humiliation to the breaking of their bond. The French Emperor, the French marshals, 100,000 gallant Frenchmen in arms, preferred to be carried captive to the strange land of their enemies, rather than dishonour the name of their country. It was the last French army in the field. Had they violated Belgian neutrality, the whole history of that war would have been changed; and yet, when it was the interest of France to break the treaty then, she did not do it.

It is the interest of Prussia to-day to break the treaty, and she has done it. She avows it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says : " Treaties only bind you when it is your interest to keep them." " What is a treaty ? " says the German Chancellor : " A scrap of paper." Have you any £5 notes about you ? Have you any of those neat little Treasury £1 notes ? If you have, burn them ; they are only scraps of paper. What are they made of ? Rags. What are they worth ? The whole credit of the British Empire. Scraps of paper ! I have been dealing with scraps of paper within the last month. One suddenly found the commerce of the world coming to a standstill. The machine had stopped. Why ? I will tell you. We discovered that the machinery of commerce was moved by bills of exchange. I have seen some of them—wretched, crinkled, scrawled over, blotched, frowsy—and yet those wretched little scraps of paper move great ships laden with thousands of tons of precious cargo from one end of the world to the other. What is the motive power behind them ? The honour of commercial men. Treaties are the currency of international statesmanship. Let us be fair : German merchants, German traders, have the reputation of being as upright and straightforward as any traders in the world ; but if the currency of German commerce is to be debased to the level of that of her statesmanship, no trader from Shanghai to Valparaiso will ever look at a German signature again. This doctrine of the scrap of paper, this doctrine which is proclaimed by Bernhardi, that treaties only bind a nation as long as it is to its interest, goes under the root of all public

law. It is the straight road to barbarism. It is as if you were to remove the Magnetic Pole because it was in the way of a German cruiser. The whole navigation of the seas would become dangerous, difficult and impossible ; and the whole machinery of civilisation will break down if this doctrine wins in this war. We are fighting against barbarism, and there is only one way of putting it right. If there are nations that say they will only respect treaties when it is to their interest to do so, we must make it to their interest to do so for the future.

What is their defence ? Consider the interview which took place between our Ambassador and the great German officials. When their attention was called to the treaty to which they were parties, they said : " We cannot help that. Rapidity of action is the great German asset." There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing. What are Germany's excuses ? She says that Belgium was plotting against her ; Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and with France to attack her. Not merely it is not true, but Germany knows it is not true. What is her other excuse ? That France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. That is absolutely untrue. France offered Belgium five army corps to defend her if she were attacked. Belgium said : " I do not require them ; I have the word of the Kaiser. ' Should Cæsar send a lie ? ' " All these tales about conspiracy have been vamped up since then. A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt, perjuring its way through obligations. What she says is not true. She has deliberately

broken this treaty, and we were in honour bound to stand by it.

Belgium has been treated brutally. How brutally we shall not yet know. We already know too much. But what had she done? Had she sent an ultimatum to Germany? Had she challenged Germany? Was she prepared to make war on Germany? Had she inflicted any wrong upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress? She was one of the most unoffending little countries in Europe. There she was—peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hard-working, giving offence to no one. And her cornfields have been trampled, her villages have been burnt, her art treasures have been destroyed, her men have been slaughtered—yea, and her women and children, too. Hundreds and thousands of her people, their neat, comfortable little homes burnt to the dust, are wandering homeless in their own land. What was their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian king. I do not know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea what he will get; but one thing he has made certain, and that is that no nation will ever commit that crime again.

I am not going to enter into details of outrages. Many of them are untrue, and always are in a war. War is a grim, ghastly business at best or at worst, and I am not going to say that all that has been said in the way of outrages must necessarily be true. I will go beyond that, and I will say that if you turn two millions of men—forced, conscript, compelled, driven—into the field, you will always get amongst them a certain number who will do things that the

nation to which they belong would be ashamed of. I am not depending on these tales. It is enough for me to have the story which Germans themselves avow, admit, defend and proclaim—the burning and massacring, the shooting down of harmless people. Why? Because, according to the Germans, these people fired on German soldiers. What business had German soldiers there at all? Belgium was acting in pursuance of the most sacred right—the right to defend its homes. But they were not in uniform when they fired! If a burglar broke into the Kaiser's palace at Potsdam, destroyed his furniture, killed his servants, ruined his art treasures—especially those he has made himself—and burned the precious manuscripts of his speeches, do you think he would wait until he got into uniform before he shot him down? They were dealing with those who had broken into their household. But the perfidy of the Germans has already failed. They entered Belgium to save time. The time has gone. They have not gained time; but they have lost their good name.

But Belgium is not the only little nation that has been attacked in this war, and I make no excuse for referring to the case of the other little nation, the case of Serbia. The history of Serbia is not unblotted. Whose history, in the category of nations, is unblotted? The first nation that is without sin, let her cast a stone at Serbia. She was a nation trained in a horrible school, but she won her freedom with a tenacious valour, and she has maintained it by the same courage. If any Serbians were mixed up in the assassination of the Grand Duke, they ought to be punished. Serbia admits that. The Serbian

Government had nothing to do with it. Not even Austria claims that. The Serbian Prime Minister is one of the most capable and honoured men in Europe. Serbia was willing to punish any one of her subjects who had been proved to have any complicity in that assassination. What more could you expect? What were the Austrian demands? Serbia sympathised with her fellow countrymen in Bosnia—that was one of her crimes. She must do so no more. Her newspapers were saying nasty things about Austria; they must do so no longer. That is the German spirit; you had it in Zabern. How dare you criticise a Prussian official? And if you laugh, it is a capital offence—the colonel in Zabern threatened to shoot if it was repeated. In the same way the Serbian newspapers must not criticise Austria. I wonder what would have happened if we had taken the same line about German newspapers. Serbia said: "Very well, we will give orders to the newspapers that they must in future criticise neither Austria nor Hungary, nor anything that is theirs." Who can doubt the valour of Serbia when she undertook to tackle her newspaper editors? She promised not to sympathise with Bosnia; she promised to write no critical articles about Austria; she would have no public meetings in which anything unkind was said about Austria.

But that was not enough. She must dismiss from her army the officers whom Austria should subsequently name. Those officers had just emerged from a war where they had added lustre to the Serbian arms; they were gallant, brave and efficient. I wonder whether it was their guilt or their efficiency that prompted Austria's action! Serbia was to

undertake in advance to dismiss them from the army, the names to be sent in subsequently. Can you name a country in the world that would have stood that? Supposing Austria or Germany had issued an ultimatum of that kind to this country, saying: "You must dismiss from your Army—and from your Navy—all those officers whom we shall subsequently name." Well, I think I could name them now. Lord Kitchener would go; Sir John French would be sent away; General Smith-Dorrien would go; and I am sure that Sir John Jellicoe would have to go. And there is another gallant old warrior who would go—Lord Roberts. It was a difficult situation for a small country. Here was a demand made upon her by a great military Power that could have put half a dozen men in the field for every one of Serbia's men, and that Power was supported by the greatest military Power in the world. How did Serbia behave? It is not what happens to you in life that matters; it is the way in which you face it, and Serbia faced the situation with dignity. She said to Austria: "If any officers of mine have been guilty, and are proved to be guilty, I will dismiss them." Austria said: "That is not good enough for me." It was not guilt she was after, but capacity.

Then came Russia's turn. Russia has a special regard for Serbia; she has a special interest in Serbia. Russians have shed their blood for Serbian independence many a time, for Serbia is a member of Russia's family, and she cannot see Serbia maltreated. Austria knew that. Germany knew it, and she turned round to Russia and said: "I insist that you shall stand by with your arms folded whilst Austria is

strangling your little brother to death." What answer did the Russian Slav give? He gave the only answer that becomes a man. He turned to Austria and said: "You lay hands on that little fellow, and I will tear your ramshackle Empire limb from limb." And he is doing it.

This is the story of two little nations. The world owes much to little nations. . . . The greatest art in the world was the work of little nations; the most enduring literature of the world came from little nations; the greatest literature of England came when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great Empire. The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which He carries His choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and strengthen their faith; and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism, our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages.

But Germany insists that this is an attack by a lower civilisation upon a higher one. As a matter of fact, the attack was begun by the civilisation which calls itself the higher one. I am no apologist for Russia; she has perpetrated deeds of which I have no doubt her best sons are ashamed. What Empire has not? But Germany is the last Empire to point the finger of reproach at Russia. Russia has made sacrifices for freedom—great sacrifices. Do you remember the cry of Bulgaria when she was

torn by the most insensate tyranny that Europe has ever seen? Who listened to that cry? The only answer of the "higher civilisation" was that the liberty of the Bulgarian peasants was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian soldier. But the "rude barbarians" of the North sent their sons by the thousand to die for Bulgarian freedom. What about England? Go to Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, France—in all those lands I could point out places where the sons of Britain have died for the freedom of those peoples. France has made sacrifices for the freedom of other lands than her own. Can you name a single country in the world for the freedom of which modern Prussia has ever sacrificed a single life? By the test of our faith the highest standard of civilisation is the readiness to sacrifice for others.

I will not say a single word in disparagement of the German people. They are a great people, and have great qualities of head and hand and heart. I believe, in spite of recent events, that there is as great a store of kindliness in the German peasant as in any peasant in the world; but he has been drilled into a false idea of civilisation. It is efficient, it is capable; but it is a hard civilisation; it is a selfish civilisation; it is a material civilisation. They cannot comprehend the action of Britain at the present time; they say so. They say: "France we can understand; she is out for vengeance; she is out for territory—Alsace and Lorraine." They say they can understand Russia; she is fighting for mastery, she wants Galicia. They can understand you fighting for vengeance, they can understand you

fighting for mastery, they can understand you fighting for greed of territory ; but they cannot understand a great Empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its children, pledging its very existence, to protect a little nation that seeks to defend herself. God made man in His own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit ; German "civilisation" would re-create him in the image of a Diesel machine—precise, accurate, powerful, but with no room for soul to operate.

Have you read the Kaiser's speeches ? If you have not a copy, I advise you to buy one ; they will soon be out of print, and you will not have many more of the same sort. They are full of the glitter and bluster of German militarism—"mailed fist" and "shining armour." Poor old mailed fist ! Its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armour ! The shine is being knocked out of it. There is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. The extract which was given in the *British Weekly* this week is a very remarkable product as an illustration of the spirit we have to fight. It is the Kaiser's speech to his soldiers on the way to the front :

> "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, the German Emperor, the Spirit of God has descended. I am His sword, His weapon and His Vice-gerent. Woe to the disobedient, and death to cowards and unbelievers."

Lunacy is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous ; and when you get it manifested in the head of the State, and it has become the policy of a great Empire, it is about time that it should be ruth-

lessly put away. I do not believe he meant all these speeches ; it was simply the martial straddle he had acquired. But there were men around him who meant every word of them. This was their religion. Treaties ? They tangle the feet of Germany in her advance. Cut them with the sword ! Little nations ? They hinder the advance of Germany. Trample them in the mire under the German heel. The Russian Slav ? He challenges the supremacy of Germany in Europe. Hurl your legions at him and massacre him ! Britain ? She is a constant menace to the predominance of Germany in the world. Wrest the trident out of her hand. Christianity ? Sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others ! Poor pap for German digestion ! We will have a new diet. We will force it upon the world. It will be made in Germany—the diet of blood and iron. What remains ? Treaties have gone. The honour of nations has gone. Liberty has gone. What is left ? Germany. Germany is left ! "*Deutschland über Alles !*"

That is what we are fighting—that claim to predominance of a material, hard civilisation which, if it once rules and sways the world, liberty goes, democracy vanishes. And unless Britain and her sons come to the rescue it will be a dark day for humanity.

Have you followed the Prussian Junker and his doings ? We are not fighting the German people. The German people are under the heel of this military caste, and it will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant, artisan and trader when the military caste is broken. You know its pretensions. They give themselves the air of demigods. They walk the

pavements, and civilians and their wives are swept into the gutter ; they have no right to stand in the way of a great Prussian soldier. Men, women, nations—they all have to go. He thinks all he has to say is, " We are in a hurry." That is the answer he gave to Belgium—" Rapidity of action is Germany's greatest asset," which means, " I am in a hurry ; clear out of my way." You know the type of motorist, the terror of the roads, with a sixty-horse-power car, who thinks the roads are made for him, and knocks down anybody who impedes the action of his car by a single mile an hour. The Prussian Junker is the road-hog of Europe. Small nationalities in his way are hurled to the road-side, bleeding and broken. Women and children are crushed under the wheels of his cruel car, and Britain is ordered out of his road. All I can say is this : if the old British spirit is alive in British hearts, that bully will be torn from his seat. Were he to win, it would be the greatest catastrophe that has befallen democracy since the day of the Holy Alliance and its ascendancy.

They think we cannot beat them. It will not be easy. It will be a long job ; it will be a terrible war ; but in the end we shall march through terror to triumph. We shall need all our qualities—every quality that Britain and its people possess—prudence in counsel, daring in action, tenacity in purpose, courage in defeat, moderation in victory ; in all things faith.

It has pleased them to believe and to preach the belief that we are a decadent and degenerate people. They proclaim to the world through their professors that we are a non-heroic nation skulking behind our

mahogany counters, whilst we egg on more gallant races to their destruction. This is a description given of us in Germany—"a timorous, craven nation, trusting to its Fleet." I think they are beginning to find their mistake out already—and there are half a million young men of Britain who have already registered a vow to their King that they will cross the seas and hurl that insult to British courage against its perpetrators on the battlefields of France and Germany. We want half a million more; and we shall get them.

Wales must continue doing her duty. That was a great telegram that you, my Lord [the Earl of Plymouth], read from Glamorgan. I should like to see a Welsh Army in the field. I should like to see the race that faced the Norman for hundreds of years in a struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win Crecy, the race that fought for a generation under Glendower against the greatest captain in Europe —I should like to see that race give a good taste of its quality in this struggle in Europe; and they are going to do it.

I envy you young people your opportunity. They have put up the age limit for the Army, but I am sorry to say I have marched a good many years even beyond that. It is a great opportunity, an opportunity that only comes once in many centuries to the children of men. For most generations sacrifice comes in drab and weariness of spirit. It comes to you to-day, and it comes to-day to us all, in the form of the glow and thrill of a great movement for liberty, that impels millions throughout Europe to the same noble end. It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from

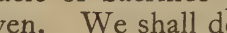
the thraldom of a military caste which has thrown its shadows upon two generations of men, and is now plunging the world into a welter of bloodshed and death. Some have already given their lives. There are some who have given more than their own lives ; they have given the lives of those who are dear to them. I honour their courage, and may God be their comfort and their strength. But their reward is at hand ; those who have fallen have died consecrated deaths. They have taken their part in the making of a new Europe—a new world. I can see signs of its coming in the glare of the battle-field.

The people will gain more by this struggle in all lands than they comprehend at the present moment. It is true they will be free of the greatest menace to their freedom. That is not all. There is something infinitely greater and more enduring which is emerging already out of this great conflict—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, and more exalted than the old. I see amongst all classes, high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness, a new recognition that the honour of the country does not depend merely on the maintenance of its glory in the stricken field, but also in protecting its homes from distress. It is bringing a new outlook for all classes. The great flood of luxury and sloth which had submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We can see for the first time the fundamental things that matter in life, and that have been obscured from our vision by the tropical growth of prosperity.

May I tell you in a simple parable what I think this war is doing for us ? I know a valley in North Wales, between the mountains and the sea. It is a beautiful

valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blasts. But it is very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hill above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance, and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which came from the hilltops, and by the great spectacle of their grandeur. We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable and too indulgent—many, perhaps, too selfish—and the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation—the great peaks we had forgotten, of Honour, Duty, Patriotism, and, clad in glittering white, the great pinnacle of Sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven. We shall descend into the valleys again ; but as long as the men and women of this generation last, they will carry in their hearts the image of those great mountain peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war.

Queen's Hall. September 19, 1914.



" Watchman, what of the night ? " It is dark, and the cries of rage and anguish rend the air, but the golden morrow is at hand, when the valiant youth of Britain will return from the stricken fields of Europe, where their heroism has proclaimed to the world that justice is the best sustenance for valour, and that their valour has won a lasting triumph for justice. . . .

All our rights and our liberties have been won by men who counted their lives as nothing so long as their country and their faith were free. In the days when we were winning battles of religious freedom in this country, there were shirkers, but their cowardice did not save them from the tomb. It is appointed that men should die once, and after that the judgment. Brave men die, but they need not fear the judgment. I think we are too ready to scoff at creeds which promise the glories of their paradise to those who die for the cause or for the country they are devoted to. It is but a crude expression of a truth which is the foundation of every great faith that sacrifice is ever the surest road to redemption.

It is appointed that cowards shall die, but after that the judgment. They fall into the unhonoured grave of the men who have never given up anything which is precious to them, to their country, their religion or their kind. After that the judgment !

City Temple. November 10, 1914.

War is the time for sacrifice in nations : they are in the spirit of sacrifice. It is a time when men know that they are expected to give up comforts, possessions, health, limb, life—all that the State requires in order to carry it through the hour of its trial. It is a time of danger, when men part willingly with anything in order to avert evils impending on the country they love ; and I am perfectly certain that when there are millions of our countrymen volunteering to risk their

lives, men who cannot volunteer are not going to grudge a fair share of their possessions.

House of Commons. November 17, 1914.

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There are three things I want you to bear in mind. The first is that we are at war ; the second that it is the greatest war that has ever been fought by this or by any other country ; and the other that the destinies of your country and the future of the human race for generations to come depend upon the outcome of this war.

What does it mean were Germany to win ? It means world power for the worst elements in Germany, not for Germany. The Germans are an intelligent race, they are undoubtedly a cultivated race, they are a race of men who have been responsible for great ideas in this world. But this would mean the dominance of the worst elements amongst them. If you think I am exaggerating, just read for the moment extracts from the articles in the newspapers which are in the ascendancy in Germany about the settlement which they expect after this war. I am sorry to say I am stating nothing but the bare brutal truth. I do not say that the Kaiser will sit on the throne of England if he should win. I do not say that he will impose his laws and his language on this country as did William the Conqueror. I do not say that you will hear the noisy tramp of the goose step in the cities of the Empire. I do not say that Death's Head Hussars will be patrolling our highways. I do not say that a visitor, let us say to Aberdaron, will have to ask a

Pomeranian policeman the best way to Hell's Mouth. That is not what I mean. What I mean is that if Germany were triumphant in this war she would practically be the dictator of the international policy of the world. Her spirit would be in the ascendant ; by the sheer power of her will she would bend the minds of men in her own fashion. Germanism in its later and worst form would be the inspiriting thought and philosophy of the hour. . . .

Ah ! but what manner of Germany would we be subordinate to ? There has been a struggle going on in Germany for over thirty years between its best and its worst elements. It is like that great struggle which is depicted in one of Wagner's great operas between the good and the evil spirit for the possession of the man's soul. That great struggle has been going on in Germany for thirty or forty years. At each successive General Election the better elements seemed to be getting the upper hand, and I do not mind saying I was one of those who believed they were going to win. I thought they were going to snatch the soul of Germany. It is worth saving. It is a great, powerful soul, and I thought they were going to save it. Then a dead military caste said, " We will have none of this," and they plunged Europe into seas of blood. Hope was again shattered.

Those worst elements will emerge triumphant out of this war if Germany wins. We shall be vassals, not to the best Germany, not to the Germany of sweet songs and inspiring, noble thought—not to the Germany of science consecrated to the service of man, not to the Germany of a virile philosophy that helped to break the shackles of a superstition in Europe—

not to that Germany, but to a Germany that talked through the raucous voice of Krupp's artillery, a Germany that has harnessed science to the chariot of destruction and of death, the Germany of a philosophy of force, violence and brutality, a Germany that would quench every spark of freedom, either in its own land, or any other, in rivers of blood. I make no apology on a day consecrated to the greatest sacrifice for coming here to preach a holy war against that.

War is a time of sacrifice and of service. Some can render one service, some another, some here and some there. Some can render great assistance, others but little. There is not one who cannot help in some measure, even if it be only by enduring cheerfully his share of the discomfort.

In the old Welsh legends there is a story of a man who was given a series of what appeared to be impossible tasks to perform ere he could reach the desires of his heart. Amongst other things he had to do was to recover every grain of seed that had been sown in a large field, and bring it all in without one missing by sunset. He came to an ant-hill and won all the hearts and enlisted the sympathies of the industrious little people. They spread over the field and before sundown the seed was all in except one grain, and as the sun was setting over the western skies a lame ant hobbled along with that grain also. Some of us have youth and vigour and suppleness of limb ; some of us are crippled with years or infirmities, and we are at best but lame ants. But we can all limp along with some share of our country's burden, and thus help her in this terrible hour to win the desire of her heart. . . .

Belgium, once comfortably well-to-do, is now waste and weeping, and her children are living on the bread of charity sent them by neighbours far and near. And France! The German army, like a wild beast, has fastened its claws deep into her soil, and every effort to drag them out rends and tears the living flesh of that beautiful land. The beast of prey has not leapt to our shores—not a hair of Britain's head has been touched by him. Why? Because of the vigilant watchdog that patrols the deep for us; and that is my complaint against the British Navy. It does not enable us to realise that Britain at the present moment is waging the most serious war it has ever been engaged in. We do not understand it. A few weeks ago I visited France. We had a conference of the Ministers of Finance of Russia, France and Great Britain. Paris is a changed city. Her gaiety, her vivacity are gone. You can see in the faces of every man there, and of every woman, that they know their country is in the grip of grim tragedy. They are resolved to overcome it, confident that they will overcome it, but only through a long agony.

No visitor to our shores would realise that we are engaged in exactly the same conflict, and that on the stricken fields of the Continent and along the broads and narrows of the seas that encircle our islands is now being determined, not merely the fate of the British Empire, but the destiny of the human race for generations to come. We are conducting a war as if there was no war. I have never been doubtful about the result of the war, and I will give you my reasons by and by. Nor have I been doubtful, I am sorry to say, about the length of the war and its seriousness.

In all wars nations are apt to minimise their dangers and their duration. Men, after all, see the power of their own country ; they cannot visualise the power of the enemy. I have been accounted as a pessimist among my friends in thinking the war would not be over before Christmas. I have always been convinced that the result is inevitably a triumph for this country. I have also been convinced that the result will not be secured without a prolonged struggle. I will tell you why. I shall do so not in order to indulge in vain and idle surmises as to the duration of the war, but in order to bring home to my countrymen what they are confronted with, so as to ensure that they will leave nothing which is at their command undone in order not merely to secure a triumph but to secure it at the speediest possible moment. It is in their power to do so. It is also in their power by neglect, by sloth, by heedlessness, to prolong their country's agony, and maybe to endanger at least the completeness of its triumphs. This is what I have come to talk to you about this afternoon, for it is work of urgent necessity in the cause of human freedom, and I make no apology for discussing on a Sunday the best means of ensuring human liberty. . . .

Much as I should like to talk about the need for more men, that is not the point of my special appeal to-day. We stand more in need of equipment than we do of men. This is an engineers' war, and it will be won or lost owing to the efforts or shortcomings of engineers. Unless we are able to equip our armies, our predominance in men will avail us nothing. We need men, but we need arms more than men, and delay in producing them is full of peril for this country.

You may think I am saying things that ought to be kept from the enemy. I am not a believer in giving any information which is useful to him. You may depend on it he knows, and I do not believe in withholding from our own public information which they ought to possess, because unless you tell them you cannot invite their co-operation. The nation that cannot bear the truth is not fit for war. But the bravery of our young volunteers and the unflinching pride of those they have left behind them in their deed of sacrifice ought to satisfy the most apprehensive that we are not a timid race who cannot face unpleasant facts. The last thing in the world John Bull wants is to be mollycoddled. The people must be told exactly what the position is, and then we can ask them to help.

We must appeal for the co-operation of employers, workmen and the general public ; the three must act and endure together, or we delay and maybe imperil victory. We ought to requisition the aid of every man who can handle metal. It means that the needs of the community in many respects will suffer acutely, vexatious and perhaps injurious delay ; but I feel sure that the public are prepared to put up with all this discomfort, loss and privation if thereby their country marches triumphantly out of this great struggle. We have every reason for confidence ; we have none for complacency. Hope is the mainspring of efficiency ; complacency is its rust.

We laugh at things in Germany that ought to terrify us. We say, " Look at the way they are making their bread out of potatoes ! Ha, ha ! "

Aye, that potato bread spirit is something which is more to dread than to mock at. I fear that more than I do even von Hindenburg's strategy, efficient as it may be. That is the spirit in which a country should meet a great emergency, and instead of mocking at it we ought to emulate it. I believe we are just as imbued with the spirit as Germany is, but we want it evoked. The average Briton is too shy to be a hero until he is asked. The British temper is one of never wasting heroism on needless display, but there is plenty of it for the need. There is nothing Britishers would not give up for the honour of their country or for the cause of freedom. Indulgences, comforts, even the necessities of life they would willingly surrender. Why, there are two millions of them at this hour who have willingly tendered their lives for their country. What more could they do?

If the absorption of all our engineering resources is demanded, no British citizen will grudge his share of inconvenience. But what about those more immediately concerned in that kind of work? I am now approaching something which is very difficult to talk about. I must speak out quite plainly; nothing else is of the slightest use. For one reason or another we are not getting all the assistance we have the right to expect from our workers. Disputes, industrial disputes, are inevitable; and when you have a good deal of stress and strain, men's nerves are not at their best. I have no doubt that the spirit of unrest creeps into the relations between employer and workmen. Some differences of opinion are quite inevitable, but we cannot afford them now;

and, above all, we cannot resort to the usual method of settling them.

I suppose I have settled more labour disputes than any man in this hall, and the thing that you need most is patience. If I were to give a motto to a man who is going to a conference between employers and workmen I would say : " Take your time ; don't hurry. It will come round with patience and tact and temper." But you know we cannot afford those leisurely methods now. Time is victory ; and while employers and workmen on the Clyde have been spending time in disputing over a fraction, and when a week-end, ten days and a fortnight of work which is absolutely necessary for the defences of the country has been set aside, I say here solemnly that it is intolerable that the life of Britain should be imperilled for the matter of a farthing an hour.

Who is to blame ? That is not the question ; but—How is it to be stopped ? Employers will say, " Are we always to give way ? " Workmen say, " Employers are making their fortunes out of an emergency of the country, why are not we to have a share of the plunder ? We work harder than ever." All I can say is, if they do, they are entitled to their share. But that is not the point—Who is right ? Who is wrong ? They are both right and they are both wrong. The whole point is that these questions ought to be settled without throwing away the chances of humanity in its greatest struggle. There is a good deal to be said for, and there is a vast amount to be said against compulsory arbitration, but during the war the Government ought to have power to settle all these differences, and the work should go on.

The workman ought to get more. Very well, let the Government find it out and give it to him. If he ought not, then he ought not to throw up his tools. The country cannot afford it. It is disaster, and I do not believe the moment this comes home to workmen and employers they will refuse to comply with the urgent demand of the Government. There must be no delay.

There is another aspect of the question which it is difficult and dangerous to tackle. There are all sorts of regulations for restricting output. I will say nothing about the merits of this question. There are reasons why they have been built up. The conditions of employment and payment are mostly to blame for those restrictions. The workmen had to fight for them for their own protection, but in a period of war there is a suspension of ordinary law.

Output is everything in this war. It is not going to be fought mainly on the battle-fields of Belgium and Poland. It is going to be fought in the workshops of France and Great Britain ; and it must be fought there under war conditions. There must be plenty of safeguards and the workman must get his equivalent, but I do hope he will help us to get as much out of those workshops as he can ; for the life of the nation depends on it.

Bangor. February 28, 1915.

The soldiers are doing their duty. This landing in the Dardanelles is one of the finest feats of arms ever recorded in history. All brave, all valiant, all

prepared to face death for their country, and worse, to face torture. I am not talking of officers in high command, I am not talking of veterans inured to discipline and to facing danger, I am talking of the ordinary common soldier among us, whom you and I know. It seems but a few weeks ago that we knew them as just ordinary men, pursuing in quiet and unostentatious way their everyday avocations with nothing apparently to distinguish them in mind or heart from their fellows. When the call came, they offered their lives to their country without demonstration, just as if they were pursuing their daily task. The next thing you hear about them is in some terrible battle, with grim valour marching through horror and carnage without flinching; yes, and thousands of men of exactly the same kind of mettle are carrying high their country's fame and honour through the jaws of hell. There are hundreds of thousands of them already there who have gone through this experience; there are two million more just as brave, just as gallant.

I will tell you what our duty is. It is this: each of us in his sphere, you of the Press, men in their departments, men in their workshops, those in every sphere of life, must so act that when the last of these men has left for a foreign land to fight for the flag, it shall not be said then that all the heroism has quitted the shores of this country.

London (*Whitehall Rooms*). *May* 7, 1915.

Germany had prepared for war. You have only

to study now what has happened. I can see it more and more. The whole organisation of their industry had its steel point directed to war, the great engineering industries so organised that when war came they would be ready ; its steel industries ready at a moment's notice to distil poison, subtle, deadly, cruel poison, in order to destroy the enemy with the greatest torture, pain and anguish. The steel point now has been unsheathed, and you can see it. Britain may not have been ready. Britain means to make up for lost time now.

This is not the first time that the men of the West have been called upon to fight a great military empire organised for war, ready for war, eager for war, seeking to dominate the world, seeking to establish a military tyranny. It was the men of the West that overthrew the Spanish Armada. I want you to repeat that exploit. You can do it. I want you to fill our arsenals. I want you to fill our wagons with the material that will enable our troops to break through their lines.

You saw what happened at Neuve Chapelle. We rained shot on them, and our men got through, but then we had to pause. We want a deluge of Neuve Chapelles. Let them rain for forty days and forty nights without ceasing. The Germans have taught us that lesson. That is why they have been able to succeed to the extent they have done in the East of Europe. It is by incessant striking, striking, striking. You can only do that by filling up our reserves with plenty of shells and ammunition. Then you will hear the crack of the German steel barrier under the incessant hammering of the British guns.

You will hear the cheers of the British infantry as they march through the shattered entrenchments to victory, and in that hour the engineers will know with a thrill that the workshops of Britain have won a lasting triumph for the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

Our men are fighting a brave people for a great cause. Let us make no mistake. We are fighting a determined enemy ; we are fighting a well-prepared enemy ; we are fighting an enemy that has been taught in its schools to subordinate everything to the Fatherland. Are Britons less patriots ? Is Britain not a country you can love as much as any German can love his Fatherland ? I know how a Welshman loves his native hills ! You are in the most beautiful country in the world. I have never met a foreigner yet who, when he first sets his eye on this gem in the ocean, is not impressed with its beauty. A land of poets beyond compare, a land of heroes who have dazzled the world, a land of the men who in thought and action have led humanity along the ascending paths of liberty. Is Britain not worth fighting for ? I ask every man, be his function what it may, to use his strength to fight for this beautiful land in the days to come.

We stand or fall together. It is either the common weal or the common woe, and it depends not merely on those valiant lads who are going to fight our battles in Flanders and the Dardanelles—it depends just as much upon us who are at home, and especially upon those who are working in these great factories which can turn out munitions of war. I want the troops to feel that they are going into action with someone

behind them. There is a very fine description in one of the Erckmann-Chatrian tales of the conscripts at the battle of Waterloo. They had been fighting all day, fighting very bravely, as Frenchmen always will. Suddenly in the evening they had a sense that there was nothing behind them. The field was empty ; there was no support, and for the first time their hearts failed them. Our fellows are fighting gallantly, and God alone knows what they have to face. When they are told to go forward in the face of the dread machinery of a scientific foe, they have never flinched ; they never knew any faint-heartedness. Do not let them one day feel that the field behind them is empty, and that there is no support. Let them hear the ring of the forges of Britain and the hammers of the anvil, and then they will say : " Our fellows are behind us ; let us go forward."

Bristol. June 12, 1915.

We are—I hardly like to use the words—we are short of shell. We want it, we must get it, and you can give it. That is the basis of the business between you and the Minister of Munitions to-day. In France the private workshops, workshops that were making motor-cars, workshops constructing ships, every kind of engineering firm in France, have been turned on for weeks and months to do nothing practically but to produce this very quality of shell that we want—the high explosive shell—and they have done it. Read the story of the last attack by the

French. They fired hundreds of thousands of these shells into the German trenches. With what result? That by the time the French marched up, the German trenches had been destroyed, the machine-gun emplacements had been overwhelmed, and they marched through the first line and captured it with very little loss of life. I want you to help us to do exactly the same thing for our men.

I want you to realise what all this means. This country has never waged war like this before. Not only is it the biggest war that the country has ever seen; it is a war which is going to come home more to every household in Britain than any war we have ever been engaged in. There are millions of men who are coming forward to tender their lives. There is not a household in the land which has not in one form or another made its contribution and taken its risk. In the little place where I live—and it is a very small town, and I do not know that we ever turned out a soldier there before—there is hardly a family now which has not its soldier either at the front or waiting for the summons to go there. What is true of that little town is true of every village and town, great and small, throughout the land. Someone was telling me to-day: "Everybody I meet nowadays is either a soldier or is the parent or brother of a soldier."

Just see what that means. When this war is over it will be something that will be talked about in every family and on every hearthstone till this generation passes away. Every man and every woman will have their toll of sacrifice. There will be many with their toll of heroism. It will be a topic of conversation, and

think how it will fare then with those who have works to-day. They could say: "When the summons came to us to do what we could to support our troops at the front, we never waited. We turned our works at once to the purpose of producing every shell that our machinery could possibly yield." It will be a matter of pride and of boast, and of legitimate pride and boast, as long as they live, that they so behaved. Yes, but think of the others when the talk goes round of what happened, when somebody will say to them: "When the Government asked you to do your best to support our soldiers what did you do?" I should like to know whether he could say: "I refused. I was not going to upset my works. I was not going to lose my business. I was not going to damage my trade." I defy any man to say that in the years to come without a blush on his face.

The appeal which has been made to the manhood of this country is not an appeal for recruits. It is an appeal for work, it is an appeal for skill, it is an appeal for every resource which you can command; and I ask you, employers and workmen—yes, all classes—so to respond to the earnest appeal that we make, that you will be able in the years to come to hear this war discussed on your hearthstones without colouring or cowering with shame for any deed that you have perpetrated. That is my appeal. I ask you to help us. You can do it. You can help this country to win the greatest triumph in its history. It is not a triumph for this country merely. Britain has simply gone in to uphold the standard of right, justice and fair dealing among nations as well as among men—she has gone in for liberty in Europe. That is the

battle cry. I am here to ask you to plant the flag on your workshops. Every lathe you possess, recruit it, enlist it. Convert your lathes and your machinery into battalions which will drive the foe from the land which he has tortured and devastated and trampled upon and disgraced, and liberty will be once more enthroned.

It is a great war, it is a terrible war, but believe me that Britain, having entered upon it, cannot go back without wiping her name from the map of the world as a Great Power. There was a famous historic personage who once turned back and was converted into a pillar of salt, and tradition in the district says that that fact is responsible for the Dead Sea. Whether that is true or not, believe me, if Britain turns back on this journey and on this task, she will become nothing but a "Dead Sea" among nations. I therefore ask every man in this room and every man outside the room, who has the power and resource, to place both at the disposal of the State in this great hour of peril. Then will yours be a share in the triumph that awaits us.

Cardiff. June 11, 1915.

There are some people who can see nothing but the black menace in the sky, and they imagine it shows a lack of foresight to look at the wide stretches of blue still smiling in the heavens. There are some, on the other hand, who fix their gaze rigidly on the clear azure above the seas. They deem it disloyal to take any note of the dark thundery clouds that are

rolling up in the East and the grey sky which is hanging so heavily over the plains of Flanders and of France. The new parties are the Blue Sky school and the Grey Sky school.

Let me tell you what I think about the sky. The sky is mottled. Let us look boldly at the firmament, ignoring nothing, being partisans of no fact, taking them all in, preparing for the worst and rejoicing in the best, being ready for the thunder showers when they come, but in the full knowledge that the sun is shining behind the darkest storm clouds and in the full faith that its illuminating rays will soon break through and scatter the gloom which hangs on the horizon of European democracy.

But sky-staring is not enough for us. We have to put forth all our strength. The events in the East, whatever they may mean, portend that. They mean that a larger share than ever of the burden of this struggle will be cast upon the shoulders of Britain. Do not shrink from it. We must pay the price of victory if we mean to get it. It is no use, if you want to secure an article, to pay nine-tenths of the price for it. It would be better for you to pay nothing, for if you pay nine-tenths you do not get what you wish, and you forfeit what you have paid. Victory has its price. It is no use calling attention to the cost we have incurred—the hundreds of thousands of casualties, the millions of men gathered together to go into the battlefield, the thousands of millions of expenditure which we are incurring. That is not the question. The one question is whether it is enough. It is no use trying to bridge a twelve-foot stream with an eleven-foot plank. We have but one question to

ask ourselves—we of all ranks, of all grades, and all trades. Victory means life for our country. Are we doing enough to secure it? It means the fate of freedom for ages to come. There is no price that is within our power which is too great for us to pay.

I have seen the miner in many spheres and capacities. I have seen him as a worker, and there is no better. I have seen him as a politician, and there is no sounder. I have heard him as a singer, and there is no sweeter. I have seen him as a footballer, and he is terrible to behold. I have seen him sometimes—you must forgive me for reminding you—as a striker, and he is very difficult. I have seen him as a soldier, and there is no better warrior in Europe. In all capacities he is always in deadly earnest, always courageous, always a loyal, steadfast friend but a dangerous foe.

The Government appeal to him to-day as a friend, as their friend, as the country's friend, as the friend of liberty in all lands and in every clime. We are short of coal to run the country in a great crisis. We are suffering from the patriotism of the miner. A quarter of a million of them have gone into the fighting line. The demand for coal is greater than ever. The supply of labour is less than ever. In times of peace coal is the most important element in the industrial life of the country. The blood which courses through the veins of industry in this country is made of distilled coal. In peace and in war "King Cole" is the paramount lord of industry. It enters into every article of consumption and of utility. It is our real international coinage. We buy goods abroad, food and raw material. We pay, not in gold, but in coal. In war it is life for us and death for our foes. It not

merely fetches and carries for us ; it makes the material and the machinery which it transports. It bends, it moulds, it fills the weapons of war. Steam means coal. Rifles mean coal. Machine guns mean coal. Cannon mean coal. Shells are made with coal. Shells are filled with coal—the very explosive inside them. And then coal carries them on right into the battlefield to help our men.

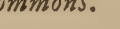
London Opera House. July 29, 1915.

There is only one appeal to employer and employed ; it is the appeal to patriotism ! The employer must take steps. . . . Victory depends upon it ! Hundreds of thousands of precious lives depend upon it ! It is a question of whether you are going to bring this war victoriously to an end in a year or whether it is going to linger on in bloodstained paths for years. Labour has the answer. The contract was entered into with labour. We are carrying it out. It can be done. I wonder whether it will not be too late ! Ah ! Fatal words of this war ! Too late in moving here ! Too late in arriving there ! Too late in coming to this decision ! Too late in starting with enterprises ! Too late in preparing ! In this war the footsteps of the Allied forces have been dogged by the mocking spectre of " Too Late " ; and unless we quicken our movements, damnation will fall on the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed. I beg employers and workmen not to have " Too Late " inscribed upon the portals of their workshops !

You must have enough ammunition to crash in every trench wherein the enemy lurks, to destroy every

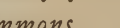
concrete emplacement, to shatter every machine gun, to rend and tear every yard of barbed wire, so that if the enemy want to resist, they will have to do it in the open, face to face with better men than themselves. That is the secret—plenty of ammunition. I hope that this idea that we are turning out too much will not enter into the mind of workman, capitalist, taxpayer or anybody until we have enough to crash our way through to victory. You must spend wisely ; you must spend to the best purpose ; you must not pay extravagant prices ; but, for Heaven's sake, if there are risks to be taken, let them be risks for the pocket of the taxpayer, and not for the lives of the soldiers.

House of Commons. December 20, 1915.



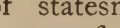
What you spare in money you spill in blood.

House of Commons. December 20, 1915.



It is the business of statesmen to strain every nerve to keep a nation out of war, but once they are in it, it is also their business to wage it with all their might.

Conway. May 6, 1916.



You cannot just organise effort when a nation is in peril. You cannot run a war as you run a Sunday School treat, where one man voluntarily brings the buns, another man supplies the tea, and another brings the kettle, one looks after the boiling and another

takes round the tea-cups, some contribute in cash, and a good many lounge about and just make the best of what is going. You cannot run a war like that. . . .

I read a story the other day about a mining camp at the foot of a black mountain in the great West. The diggers had been toiling long and hard with but scant encouragement for their labours, and one night a terrible storm swept over the mountain. An earthquake shattered its hard surface and hurled its rocks about ; and in the morning in the rents and fissures they found a rich deposit of gold. This is a great storm that is sweeping over the favoured lands of Europe ; but in this night of terror you will find that the hard crust of selfishness and greed has been shattered, and in the rent hearts of the people you will find treasures, golden treasures, of courage, steadfastness, endurance, devotion and of the faith that endureth for ever.

Conway. May 6, 1916.

Why should we not sing during the war ? Why especially should we not sing at this stage of the war ? The blinds of Britain are not down yet, nor are they likely to be. The honour of Britain is not dead, her might is not broken, her destiny is not fulfilled, her ideals are not shattered by her enemies. She is more than alive ; she is more potent, she is greater than she ever was. Her dominions are wider, her influence is deeper, her purpose is more exalted than ever. Why should her children not sing ? I know war means suffering, war means

sorrow. Darkness has fallen on many a devoted household, but it has been ordained that the best singer amongst the birds of Britain should give its song in the night, and according to legend that sweet song is one of triumph over pain. There are no nightingales this side of the Severn. Providence rarely wastes its gifts. We do not need this exquisite songster in Wales ; we can provide better. There is a bird in our villages that can beat the best of them. He is called Y Cymro. He sings in joy, he sings also in sorrow ; he sings in prosperity, he sings also in adversity. He sings at play, he sings at work ; he sings in the sunshine, he sings in the storm ; he sings in the daytime, he sings also in the night ; he sings in peace ; why should he not sing in war ? Hundreds of wars have swept over these hills, but the harp of Wales has never yet been silenced by one of them, and I should be proud if I contributed something to keep it in tune during the war by the holding of this Eisteddfod to-day.

But I have another and even more urgent reason for wishing to keep this Eisteddfod alive during the war. When this terrible conflict is over, a wave of materialism will sweep over the land. Nothing will count but machinery and output. I am all for output, and I have done my best to improve machinery and increase output. But that is not all. There is nothing more fatal to a people than that it should narrow its vision to the material needs of the hour. National ideals without imagination are but as the thistles of the wilderness, fit neither for food nor fuel. A nation that depends upon them must perish. We shall need at the end of the war better

workshops, but we shall also need more than ever every institution that will exalt the vision of the people above and beyond the workshop and the counting house. We shall need every national tradition that will remind them that men cannot live by bread alone.
broken, and had not the might of Britain passed

I make no apology for advocating the holding of the Eisteddfod in the middle of this great conflict, even although it were merely a carnival of song as it has been stigmatised. The storm is raging as fiercely as ever, but now there is a shimmer of sunshine over the waves, there is a rainbow on the tumult of surging waters. The struggle is more terrible than it has ever been, but the legions of the oppressor are being driven back, and the banner of right is pressing forward. Why should we not sing? It is true there are thousands of gallant men falling in the fight—let us sing of their heroism. There are myriads more standing in the battle-lines, facing the foe, and myriads more behind ready to support them when their turn comes. Let us sing of the land that gave birth to so many heroes.

Aberystwyth. August 17, 1916.

There is a time in every prolonged and fierce war, in the passion and rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered it. This is a struggle for international right, international honour, international good faith—the channel along which peace, honour and goodwill must flow amongst men. The embankments laboriously built up by generations of men against barbarism have been

into the breach, Europe would have been inundated with a flood of savagery and unbridled lust of power. The plain sense of fair play amongst nations, the growth of an international conscience, the protection of the weak against the strong by the stronger, the consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in this world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher things. The triumph of Prussia would sweep it all away and leave mankind to struggle helpless in the morass. That is why, since this war began, I have known but one political aim. For that I have fought with a single eye. It is the rescue of mankind from the most overwhelming catastrophe that has ever yet menaced its well being.

House of Commons. December 19, 1916.

There are rare epochs in the history of the world when, in a few raging years the character, the destiny of the whole race is determined for unknown ages. This is one. The winter wheat is being sown. It is better, it is surer, it is more bountiful in its harvest than when it is sown in the soft springtime. There are many storms to pass through, there are many frosts to endure, before the land brings forth its green promise. But let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not.

Carnarvon. February 3, 1917.

Now we are faced with the greatest and the grimmest struggle of all. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, not amongst men, but amongst nations—great and small, powerful and weak, exalted and humble, Germany and Belgium, Austria and Serbia—equality, fraternity amongst peoples as well as amongst men—that is the challenge which has been thrown to us. Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and best. But, do not forget, these are the great successions of hallowed causes : they are the Stations of the Cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. Let us endure as our fathers did. Every birth is an agony, and the new world is born out of the agony of the old world. My appeal to the people of this country and—if my appeal can reach beyond it—is this, that we should continue to fight for the great goal of international right and international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice, nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of right.

Sometimes in the course of human events great challenges are hurled from the unknown amongst the sons and daughters of men. Upon the answer which is given to these challenges, and upon the heroism with which the answer is sustained, depends the question whether the world will be better or whether the world will be worse for ages to come. These challenges end in terrible conflicts which bring wretchedness, misery, bloodshed, martyrdom in all its myriad forms to the world ; and if you look at the pages of history, these conflicts stand out like great mountain ranges such as you have in Scotland—scenes of destruction, of vast conflicts. Scarred by

the volcanoes which threw them up, but drawing blessings from the heavens, they fertilise the valleys and the plains perennially far beyond the horizon of the highest peaks.

Glasgow. June 29, 1917.

Let there be one thought in every head. If you sow distrust, discontent, disunion, in the nation we shall reap defeat. If, on the other hand, we sow the seeds of patience, confidence and unity, we shall garner in victory and its fruits. The last ridges of a climb are always the most trying to the nerves and to the heart, but the real test of great endurance and courage is the last few hundreds or scores of feet in a climb upwards. The climber who turns back when he is almost there never becomes a great mountaineer, and the nation that turns back and falters before it reaches its purpose never becomes a great people. You have all had experience in climbing, no doubt—perhaps in Wales. Any mountaineer can start ; any sort of mountaineer can go part of the way ; and very often the poorer the mountainer, the greater is his ardour when he does start ; but fatigue and danger wear out all but the stoutest hearts, and even the most stout-hearted sometimes fail when they come to the last slippery precipice. But if they do turn back and afterwards look up and see how near they had got to the top, how they curse the faint-heartedness which bade them give up when they were so near the goal !

War is a ghastly thing, but not as grim as a bad peace. There is an end to the most horrible war,

but a bad peace goes on and on, staggering from one war to another. What do they mean? Do they mean peace when they talk? The truth is the Prussian war lords have not yet abandoned their ambitions. They are not discussing that. They are only discussing the postponement of the realisation of these ambitions. There is a feeling among them—a genuine feeling, believe me—that this time the plot has miscarried. They are perfectly honest about that, and they blame this country with its Fleet and its factories, and they say: "Had it not been for Britain, all would have been well." Next time they mean to make sure. Next time! There must be no "next time"! Far better, in spite of all the cost, all the sorrow and all the tragedy of it—let us have done with it! Do not let us repeat this horror. Let us be the generation that manfully, courageously, resolutely eliminated war from among the tragedies of human life. Let us, at any rate, make victory so complete that national liberty, whether for great nations or for small nations, can never be challenged. That is the ordinary law. The small man, the poor man, has the same protection as the powerful man. So the little nation must be as well guarded and protected as the big nation.

London (*Queen's Hall*). *August* 4, 1917.

I believe in a nation that can sing about its defeats.

London. *August* 8, 1917.

I have been in the habit once or twice of telling my

Welsh fellow-countrymen when there was anything that made them feel in the least depressed to look upon the phenomena of their hills. On a clear day they look as if they were near. You could reach them in an easy march—you could climb the highest of them in an hour. That is wrong—you could not. Then comes a cloudy day, and the mists fall upon them and you say : " There are no hills. They have vanished." Again you are wrong. The optimist is wrong ; the hills are not as near as he thought. The pessimist is still more wrong, because they are there. All you have to do is to keep on. Keep on. Falter not. We have many dangerous marshes to cross ; we will cross them. We have steep and stony paths to climb ; we will climb them. Our footprints may be stained with blood, but we will reach the heights ; and beyond them we shall see the rich valleys and plains of the new world which we have sacrificed so much to attain.

Birkenhead. September 7, 1917.

There are hundreds of thousands of sorrowing men and women in this land on account of the war. Their anguish is too deep to be expressed or to be comforted by words, but, judging the multitudes whom I know not by those I do know, there is not a single one of them who would recall the valiant dead to life at the price of their country's dishonour. The example of these brave men who have fallen has enriched the life and exalted the purpose of all people. You cannot have 4,000,000 of men in any land who voluntarily sacrificed everything the world can offer

them in obedience to a higher call without ennobling the country from which they sprang, and the fallen, whilst they have illumined with a fresh lustre the glory of their native land, have touched with a new dignity the households which they left for the battlefield. There will be millions who will come back and live to tell children now unborn how a generation before, in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and in the ends of the earth, the men of our race were willing to leave ease and comfort to face privation, torture and death to win protection for the weak and justice for the oppressed. There are hundreds of thousands who will never come back. For them there will be for ages to come sacred memories in a myriad of homes, of brave, chivalrous men who gave up their young lives for justice, for right, for freedom in peril.

I am sure the House would like special mention to be made of our Air Service. The heavens are their battlefield ; they are the cavalry of the clouds. High above the squalor and the mud, so high in the firmament that they are not visible from earth, they fight out the eternal issues of right and wrong. Their daily, yea, their nightly struggles, are like the Miltonic conflict between the winged hosts of light and of darkness. They fight the foe high up and they fight him low down ; they skim like armed swallows, hanging over trenches full of armed men, wrecking convoys, scattering infantry, attacking battalions on the march. Every flight is a romance ; every report is an epic. They are the knighthood of this war, without fear and without reproach. They recall the old legends of chivalry, not merely by the daring of their exploits but by the nobility of their spirit, and,

amongst the multitudes of heroes, let us think of the chivalry of the air.

House of Commons. *October* 29, 1917.

The British Navy is like one of those internal organs, essential to life, but of the existence of which we are not conscious until something goes wrong.

House of Commons. *October* 29, 1917.

We are laying surely the foundation of the bridge which, when it is complete, will carry us into the new world. The river is, for the moment, in spate, and some of the scaffolding has been carried away and much of the progress we have made seems submerged and hidden, and there are men who say: "Let us abandon the enterprise altogether. It is too costly. It is impracticable of achievement. Let us rather build a pontoon bridge of new treaties, league of nations, understandings." It might last you some time. It would always be shaky and uncertain. It would not bear much strain. It would not carry heavy traffic, and the first flood would sweep it away. Let us get along with the pile-driving and make a real solid, permanent structure.

There are people who are too apt at one moment to get unduly elated at victories, which are but incidents in the great march of events, and the same people get unwholesomely depressed by defeats which again are nothing more than incidents. . . . They remind me

of a clock I used to pass at one time in my life almost every day. It worried me a great deal, for whatever the time of day, it always pointed to 12 o'clock. If you trusted that clock you would have believed it was either noon or midnight. There are people of that type in this war who at one moment point to the high noon of triumph and the next to the black midnight of defeat or despair. There is no twilight. There is no morning. They can claim a certain consistency, for they are always at twelve ; but you will find that their mainspring in this war is out of repair. We must go through all the hours, minute by minute, second by second, with a steady swing, and the hour of the dawn will in due time strike.

We have all been dreaming of a new world to appear when the deluge of war has subsided. Unless we achieve victory for the great cause for which we entered this war, the new world will simply be the old world with the heart out of it.

The old world, at least, believed in ideals. It believed that justice, fair play, liberty, righteousness must triumph in the end ; that is, however you interpret the phrase, the old world believed in God, and it staked its existence on that belief. Millions of gallant young men volunteered to die for that divine faith. But if wrong emerged triumphant out of this conflict, the new world would feel in its soul that brute force alone counted in the government of man ; and the hopelessness of the dark ages would once more fall on the earth like a cloud. To redeem Britain, to redeem Europe, to redeem the world from this doom must be the settled purpose of every man and woman who places duty above ease. This is the fateful hour

of mankind. If we are worthy of the destiny with which it is charged, untold generations of men will thank God for the strength which He gave us to endure to the end.

Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

POST-WAR

I doubt whether any statesman who ever lived sank so deeply into the hearts of the people of many lands as Abraham Lincoln did. I am not sure that you in America realise the extent to which he is also our possession and our pride. His courage, fortitude, patience, humanity, clemency, trust in the people, belief in democracy, and, may I add, some of the phrases in which he gave expression to those attributes, will stand out for ever as beacons to guide troubled nations and their perplexed leaders. Resolute in war, he was moderate in victory. Misrepresented, misunderstood, under-estimated, he was patient to the last. But the people believed in him all the time, and they still believe in him.

In his life he was a great American. He is an American no longer. He is one of those giant figures, of whom there are few in history, who lose their nationality in death. They are no longer Greek or Hebrew, English or American ; they belong to mankind. I wonder whether I shall be forgiven for saying that George Washington was a great American, but Abraham Lincoln belonged to the common people of every land. They love that haggard face with the sad and tender eyes. There is a worship in their regard. There is a faith and a hope in that worship. The people, the great people who can produce men like Lincoln and Lee for their emergencies, are sound to the core The qualities that enabled the American

nation to bring forth, to discern, to appreciate, and to follow as leaders such men are needed now more than ever in the settlement of the world.

Westminster. (*Unveiling of the Lincoln Statue.*)
July 28, 1920.

The amazing legend that the Turk is a gentleman is dying hard. That legend has saved him many a time when he was on the brink of destruction. It came to his aid when the policy of this country was changed by the revolt of the Turcophile against the Coalition. The Turk has massacred hundreds of thousands of Armenians, and dishonoured myriads of Christian women who trusted to his protection. Nevertheless, the Turk is a gentleman! By his indolence, his shiftiness, his stupidity, and his wantonness, he has reduced a garden to a desert. What better proof can there be that he is a real gentleman? For a German bribe he sold the friends who had repeatedly saved his wretched life. All the same, what a gentleman he is! He treated British prisoners with a barbarous neglect that killed them off in hundreds. Still, he is such a gentleman! He plunders, he slays and outrages those who are unable to defend themselves. He misgoverns, cheats, lies and betrays. For all that, the Turk is a gentleman!

Article on the Treaty of Lausanne.
"*Is it Peace?*" 1923.

Of all the bigotries that savage the human temper there is none so stupid as the anti-Semitic. It has no

basis in reason ; it is not rooted in faith ; it aspires to no ideal ; it is just one of those dank and unwholesome weeds that grow in the morass of racial hatred. How utterly devoid of reason it is may be gathered from the fact that it is almost entirely confined to nations who worship Jewish prophets and apostles, revere the national literature of the Hebrews as the only inspired message delivered by the Deity to mankind, and whose only hope of salvation rests on the precepts and promises of the great teachers of Judah. Yet, in the sight of these fanatics the Jews of to-day can do nothing right. If they are rich they are birds of prey. If they are poor they are vermin. If they are in favour of a war, it is because they want to exploit the bloody feuds of the Gentiles to their own profit. If they are anxious for peace, they are either instinctive cowards or traitors. If they give generously—and there are no more liberal givers than the Jews—they are doing it for some selfish purpose of their own. If they do not give—then what could one expect of a Jew but avarice ? If labour is oppressed by great capital, the greed of the Jew is held responsible. If labour revolts against capital—as it did in Russia—the Jew is blamed for that also. If he lives in a strange land he must be persecuted and pogrommed out of it. If he wants to go back to his own, he must be prevented. Through the centuries in every land, whatever he does, or intends or fails to do, he has been pursued by the echo of the brutal cry of the rabble of Jerusalem against the greatest of all Jews—" Crucify Him ! "

No good has ever come of nations that crucified Jews. It is poor and pusillanimous sport, lacking all

the true qualities of manliness and those who indulge in it would be the first to run away were there any element of danger in it. Jew-baiters are generally of the type that found good reasons for evading military service when their own country was in danger.

The latest exhibition of this wretched indulgence is the agitation against settling poor Jews in the land their fathers made famous. Palestine under Jewish rule once maintained a population of 5,000,000. Under the blighting rule of the Turk it barely supported a population of 700,000. The land flowing with milk and honey is now largely a stony and unsightly desert. To quote one of the ablest and most far-sighted business men of to-day, " It is a land of immense possibilities in spite of the terrible neglect of its resources resulting from Turkish misrule. It is a glorious estate let down by centuries of neglect. The Turks cut down the forests and never troubled to replant them. They slaughtered the cattle and never troubled to replace them." It is one of the peculiarities of the Jew-hunter that he adores the Turk.

If Palestine is to be restored to a condition even approximating to its ancient prosperity, it must be by settling Jews on its soil. The condition to which the land has been reduced by centuries of the most devastating oppression in the world is such that restoration is only possible by a race that is prepared for sentimental reasons to make and endure sacrifices for the purpose. What is the history of the Jewish settlement in Palestine? It did not begin with the Balfour Declaration. A century ago there were barely 10,000 Jews in the whole of Palestine.

Before the war there were 100,000. The war considerably reduced these numbers, and immigration since 1918 has barely filled up the gaps. At the present timorous rate of progress it will be many years before it reaches 200,000.

Jewish settlement started practically seventy years ago with Sir Moses Montefiore's experiment in 1854 —another war year. The Sultan had good reasons for propitiating the Jews in that year, as the Allies had in 1917. So the Jewish resettlement of Palestine began. From that day onward it has proceeded slowly but steadily. The land available was not of the best. Prejudices and fears had to be negotiated. Anything in the nature of wholesale expropriation of Arab cultivators, even for cash, had to be carefully avoided. The Jews were therefore often driven to settle on barren sand dunes and malarial swamps. The result can best be given by quoting from an article written by Mrs. Fawcett, the famous woman leader. She visited Palestine in 1921 and again in 1922, and this is her account of the Jewish settlements :

> " So far from the colonies and the colonists draining the country of its resources, they have created resources which were previously non-existent; they have planted and skilfully cultivated desert lands and converted them into fruitful vineyards, and orange and lemon orchards; in other parts they have created valuable agricultural land out of what were previously dismal swamps producing nothing but malaria and other diseases. The colonists have not shrunk from the tremendous work and the heavy sacrifices required. Many of the early arrivals laid down their lives over their work; the survivors went on bravely, draining the swamps, planting eucalyptus trees by the hundred thousand, so that at length the swamp became a fruitful garden, and the desert once more blossomed like the rose."

Everywhere the Jew cultivator produces heavier and richer crops than his Arab neighbour. He has introduced into Palestine more scientific methods of cultivation, and his example is producing a beneficent effect on the crude tillage of the Arab peasant. It will be long ere Canaan becomes once more a land flowing with milk and honey. The effects of the neglect and misrule of centuries cannot be effaced by the issue of a Declaration. The cutting down of the trees has left the soil unprotected against the heavy rains, and the rocks which were once green with vineyards and olive groves have been swept bare. The terraces which ages of patient industry built up have been destroyed by a few generations of Turkish stupidity. They cannot be restored in a single generation. Great irrigation works must be constructed if settlement is to proceed on a satisfactory scale. Palestine possesses in some respects advantages for the modern settler which, to its ancient inhabitants, were a detriment. Its one great river and its tributaries are rapid and have a great fall. For power this is admirable. Whether for irrigation, or for the setting up of new industries, this gift of nature to Palestine is only rendered capable of exploitation by the scientific discoveries of the last century. The tableland of Judea has a rainfall which, if caught in reservoirs at appropriate centres, would make of the "desert of Judea" a garden. If this be done, Arab and Jew alike share in the prosperity.

There are few countries on earth which have made less of their possibilities. Take its special attractions for the tourist. I was amazed to find that the visitors

to Palestine in the whole course of a year only aggregate 15,000. It contains the most famous shrines in the world. Its history is of more absorbing interest to the richest peoples on earth, and is better taught to their children, than even that of their own country. Some of its smallest villages are better known to countless millions than many a prosperous modern city. Hundreds of thousands ought to be treading this sacred ground every year. Why are they not doing so? The answer is: Turkish misrule scared away the pilgrim. Those who went there came back disillusioned and disappointed. The modern "spies" on their return did not carry with them the luscious grapes of Escol to thrill the multitude with a desire to follow their example. They brought home depressing tales of squalor, discomfort and exaction which dispelled the glamour and discouraged further pilgrimages. Settled government gives the Holy Land its first chance for nineteen hundred years. But there is so much undeveloped country demanding the attention of civilisation that Palestine will lose that chance unless it is made the special charge of some powerful influence. The Jews alone can redeem it from the wilderness and restore its ancient glory.

In that trust there is no injustice to any other race. The Arabs have neither the means, the energy, nor the ambition to discharge this duty. The British Empire has too many burdens on its shoulders to carry this experiment through successfully. The Jewish race with its genius, its resourcefulness, its tenacity and, not least, its wealth, can alone perform this essential task. The Balfour Declaration is not an expropriating but an enabling clause. It is only

a charter of equality for the Jews. Here are its terms :

> " His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The Declaration was subsequently endorsed and adopted by President Wilson and the French and Italian Foreign Ministers.

The Zionists ask for no more. It has been suggested by their enemies that they are seeking to establish a Jewish oligarchy in Palestine that will reduce the Arab inhabitant to a condition of servitude to a favoured Hebrew minority. The best answer to that charge is to be found in the Memorandum submitted by the Zionist Association to the League of Nations :

> " The Jews demand no privilege unless it be the privilege of rebuilding by their own efforts and sacrifices a land which, once the seat of a thriving and productive civilisation, has long been suffered to remain derelict. They expect no favoured treatment in the matter of political or religious rights. They assume as a matter of course, that all the inhabitants of Palestine, be they Jews or non-Jews, will be in every respect on a footing of perfect equality. They seek no share in the Government beyond that to which they may be entitled under the Constitution as citizens of the country. They solicit no favours. They ask, in short, no more than an assured opportunity of building up their National Home by their own exertions and of succeeding according to their merits."

It is a modest request which these exiles from Zion propound to the nations. And surely it is just that

it should be conceded and, if conceded, then carried out in the way men of honour fulfil their bond. There are fourteen millions of Jews in the world. They belong to a race which for at least nineteen hundred years has been subjected to proscription, pillage, massacre, and the torments of endless derision—a race that has endured persecution, which for the variety of torture, physical, material and mental, inflicted on its victims, for the virulence and malignity with which it has been sustained, for the length of time it has lasted, and more than all for the fortitude and patience with which it has been suffered, is without parallel in the history of any other people. Is it too much to ask that those amongst them whose sufferings are the worst shall be able to find refuge in the land their fathers made holy by the splendour of their genius, by the loftiness of their thoughts, by the consecration of their lives, and by the inspiration of their message to mankind?

An article written July 9, 1923, and published in "Is It Peace?"

Yours is a country of vast treasure and resource, and you are only at the threshold of its greatness. You produce some of the best wheat in the world; you raise fine cattle. But the world knows to-day that above everything you produce a gallant race of men. Nine years ago Canada was faced, like many another nation in the world, with one of those decisions that determine its history, determine its fate, determine its status in the world, determine the course which it pursues in the dim and unending years of

the future. And your decision was a great one, was a courageous one, was resolute and, above all, it was unhesitating. War is a terrible business at best. It is a rending business. It is a shattering business. It is a ruining business. It devastates ; it desolates and the triumph of statesmanship is to put an end to war. All the same, there is no crucible which tests the quality of a people like war. It tests courage, determination, steadfastness, loyalty, readiness to sacrifice all the great moral qualities that distinguish men from the beasts of the field as well as intelligence, and Canada was tried, practically for the first time, on a great scale, in that burning, scorching crucible, and she came out pure and refined gold. Canada had to enter into an examination of her qualities, in a competition and a conflict with the most virile races in the world, the strongest, the most tested, the most dominant races, and it was a searching test for a new nation. She passed through all these fiery trials. And she emerged with a certificate of nationhood, signed by all those great nations, friend and foe alike.

The Treaty of Versailles may have its defects. It is now in the testing. It may succeed ; or conceivably it may fail. But for Canada it has one great enduring value, it is a certificate of nationhood, signed by practically all the great nations of the earth, after four and one half years of trial. It is therefore a charter for Canada. Canada fought for no gratitude, but from a sense of duty. Nevertheless, you will permit one coming from the Old Country, where we passed very anxious moments, where we were within the sound of the guns in the southern

counties—you will permit one coming from the Old Country and the Old Countrymen, to say that there is a sentiment of deep appreciation and gratitude to Canada for the way in which she came to our aid at the most critical moment in our history. There is nothing I can tell you about your own efforts that you do not know. You know it ; we know it, but I am not at all sure that you know how much it meant to us, and that I can tell you. You sent across the seas 400,000 men, and such men ! Three times the size of the British Expeditionary Force we sent to France. That is not the measure of your service. It is the promptness with which you came to our aid. I remember a day or two before the declaration of war the old French Ambassador, Monsieur Paul Cambon, one of the most honoured names in the history of the *Entente* between Great Britain and France, and whose wise vision, whose great sagacity and attractive personality did more to create that good feeling than almost any individual except, conceivably, King Edward VII—I remember his coming to the British Ministry of which I was a member with tears in his eyes, after the Germans had declared war against France, and saying, " Send us one squadron of cavalry, only one squadron of cavalry."

" Oh but," we said, " the Germans have millions of men. Theirs is a gigantic army. What is the use of sending our little army ? What use would a squadron be ? " " You don't understand," he said. " If you send a squadron of cavalry with a British flag, it will put the heart into millions of Frenchmen to fight." That is what you did. When we were

in doubt—when we were in hesitation—when there was apprehension, a voice came from Canada and said, "Canadians will be behind you." When you saw the storm clouds beginning to roll across the German Ocean towards the British shore, we had a message from Canada to say that the great Dominion would stand behind the Motherland, and I remember, as a member of that Cabinet, what that message of encouragement and support meant in that dark hour. That was the moral support you gave. But you gave more than that. You will forgive me talking, because I was inside the story and watching the whole thing, and these things are written in letters of flame in my memory. They represent hours, days of anxiety, chiselled into one's heart.

I remember the day when the Germans broke the line and left the Channel ports unprotected. It meant disaster. I do not say it meant defeat. I do not say the war would have been lost, although the issue would have been very much more doubtful. London could have been bombarded. That would have meant nothing. It would have only exasperated, only provoked, only roused the British spirit. English courage is not made of lath and plaster. And all the artillery of Germany would not have shattered the courage even of the humblest little cockney in East London if it came to that. That was not the danger. It was the cutting of the communications. It was crippling our campaign. We had to pour in men, munitions, food, supplies, and if the Germans had got the Channel ports, Dunkirk gone, Calais gone, Boulogne gone, we should have to squeeze in through just one or two inlets into France. It would have made a vital

difference in the conduct of the campaign. And we fought two great battles to keep the German army away from those ports. They brought their greatest divisions to attack. The first attack was resisted, defeated, by the veterans of the old army. You know it. The contemptible little army. They were highly trained men—trained for years—as fine an army for its size as ever left England's shore and they succeeded.

The second attack was defeated by an army of untried men who had not fought battles ; an army of men who were private citizens a few months before that ; who thought of nothing less, who thought not in the least that, at that time, they would be shouldering rifles. With a little training they were hurried to the front, facing veterans of what Marshal Foch described to me as the finest army the world had ever seen—the German army ; the best trained, the best equipped, the best organised. They broke the line. They were defeated by an army of untried men who came from Canada. We all need to dwell one or two minutes on that point. I want to show you that Britain is grateful. It was your duty, it is your duty to rally to your flag ; it is our duty to be grateful to you for doing it so promptly and so helpfully.

Just think of it. Clouds of strangling poison let loose, the veterans of the Allied army breaking before it. No discredit to them. It was a horrible experience ; it was new, and they broke, and there was a gap open wide, straight through to the English Channel, where you could have seen the cliffs of Dover. Then came the untried army, never been in action, called upon at a moment's notice to face an

emergency which would have tried veterans. It is not merely the courage, it is the resource which was displayed. There was only one thing to do. If they had stuck to their trenches that would not have been enough. They flung themselves upon the victorious Germans, attacked them, drove them out of positions, gave the impression that there were ten men there for every one they really had. It was the finest bluff ever put up. It was the bravest one. They put their lives into it and the Germans, who could have marched in without any interference if they had only screened their left said : " What is this ? They are terrible fellows. We cannot advance with men like this on our flanks, so we must deal with them." And it took them so long to deal with them that reinforcements came up, the line was reconstructed, the gate was closed, and they never saw the English Channel. Forgive me for dwelling on that. They fought in an atmosphere charged with poison, stifling, corrupting poison, before the days when we discovered scientific means for combating it. They saw the effects of the poison before their eyes, and they went on. They had no artillery support. In those days we had no great guns, we had very little ammunition. The Canadian heroes—they fought it, they fought through the whole afternoon, they fought through the dusk, they fought against all the principles of scientific warfare right through the night, and when the dawn came the position was saved. And more than that. The Maple Leaf was embroidered for ever on the silken folds of the banner of human liberty.

That is one of the reasons why I am saying " Thank you." I am taking a little time to say it, and I want

to tell you why I say it. I am the old War Prime Minister who had the chief responsibility throughout most of the war, and I know what it meant to my countrymen who had to face those things, and what it meant for France. I know the sentiments of France in reference to the courage and the resource displayed by your magnificent troops. There were at least four, if not five battles where the Canadian troops played a decisive part. There was the battle of Vimy Ridge, the battle that determined the German General Staff that the game was up. Canada took a prime part in winning that battle. The breaking of the Hindenburg Line, the capture of Cambrai, all these things are written for ever on the scroll of history and form part of the destiny of the human race.

No man can tell now what that was. It was a fog which arises from the morass of war. The smoke is not clear. I do not know what is going to happen. I have never met a man who could tell me what would happen. This I do know. The war has altered the destiny of mankind for generations, for centuries to come ; and you ought to be proud that you, the men and women of Canada, played such a part in the greatest event that human history can write about for fifteen or seventeen centuries.

The British Empire at war revealed itself for the first time to the world as one of the supreme guardians of human liberty. England fought the Armada and established for ever the principle of freedom of worship. England fought Louis XIV ; fought the attempts of Napoleon to establish an imperial regime over Europe. But the first time the Empire came together into action, with all its strength, all its gigantic

might and majesty, from the southern seas up to those of the north, from the eastern climes to the west, all the earth over, was on the 4th of August, 1914 ; and thank God, when it came, it came to fight for liberty. That is the real significance of that episode.

It is an Empire of many races. I can see indications in this very room that you have at least two races. You are told in at least two languages not to smoke. In London to-day, maybe at this hour, the representatives of the British Empire are meeting around the table in rather a dingy old room, but great events have been fashioned there. You've got Englishmen there, Scotsmen and Irishmen. I am glad they are there. I did my best to get them there, and there is nothing I am prouder of than the fact that I have at last succeeded (using means that Irishmen did not always appreciate) in getting Irishmen there. You have Frenchmen there from Canada ; you have Dutchmen there from South Africa ; you have got representatives of much older races and of much more ancient civilisations from India. I remember one of those races at a great conference turning round to look at President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and M. Orlando. Then he said to me : " I belong to a race which was civilised when the people you represent were barbarians." Signor Orlando turned round to me as much as to say : " That is not true of Rome." I said : " Yes, you were savages when these people were civilised, so were we." It is an Empire of many races, east and west, north and south ; every colour, every clime, every civilisation, every religion. And every religion is good. It is only no religion that is bad.

What is our problem ? I have just come from your great neighbour, and they have got a problem of the same kind but essentially different, because they have got every race and it is going to be one of their difficulties. Their problem is to weld all those races into one common pattern that is theirs, and it is essential for them. There you have got a Frenchman living here and a Dutchman next door—and God help both of them if they ever start discussing religion ; there it is very possible you will find an Englishman, and a Welshman and an Irishman, but they are all living in the same street in the same town, and their business is to do what you see those great machines do when they are making concrete—crush the rocks into the same size, the same pattern, weld it together by some substance that attaches and makes cohesion. There you have got to make a concrete, attach it by a common nationhood so as to make one solid nation of an infinite variety of types. That is the problem of the United States of America. It is not ours. It must be recognised that our problem is a problem of hewing rocks of granite or marble out of different quarries, of fashioning them, shaping them, putting them into a building, each separate block contributing its strength, its colour, its beauty to the building so that the whole will be a fabric of infinite strength and exquisite beauty. That is the British Empire. Here is the granite and the marble, from India's coral strands, the Scotch granite from Aberdeen, the English stone of fine durable quality that the ages have not been able to wear down, and there is a little from my own country hewn from the Welsh hills.

That is our problem. Don't attempt to solve it in

the same way it is being solved in America. It will fail. I will give you an illustration. The United Kingdom is a very small place, just little islands, though they are bigger than those in the St. Lawrence I will agree, but a very small part of Quebec would swallow them all up, and it would make hardly any difference in your taxation. There are four distinct races there now living within a stone's throw of each other, and many stones have been thrown at each other with deadly effect sometimes. There is England towering dominant, masterful, infinitely greater in wealth, in resource, in population than any of the others, with a resplendent history of its own, with an incomparable literature. By its side Scotland, Ireland and Wales. England has eight times the population of Scotland, she has eight times the population of Ireland, sixteen times the population of Wales. And yet we are not all Englishmen. We are Englishmen, we are Scotsmen, we are Irishmen and we are Welshmen. There was a statesmanship that said : " Here is a dominant race. Let us crush the others into the same pattern." It was failure. It weakened England. Scotland settled that business at Bannockburn. Oliver Cromwell tried it with guns and a little religion, because he believed in God and kept his powder dry ; and he defeated the Scots and chased them. About one hundred and fifty years after Bobbie Burns, making an appeal on behalf of human freedom, made it in the name of Scotland's heroes, Scotland's wars, Scotland's victories, and talking about England, which was taxing Scotch whiskies, said : " Gie a' the foes of Scotland's weal a towmond's toothache." It has been a failure.

For seven hundred years they have been trying to destroy Irish nationality. We were all in it for seven hundred years. They hammered at something which was unbreakable. It is more evident, more dominant to-day than ever.

I can tell you more about Wales. In my constituency they built three great castles before my time to destroy Welsh nationality. Any Welshman who spoke his native tongue was hanged. We returned the compliment. We took the constable of the biggest of them and hung him in the market-place. The present constable of the Castle is a Welsh-speaking Welshman.

All that was dropped. The Englishman is above everything a man of practical common sense, and he said : " This won't do." He recognised the fact that Providence knew its business better than he did, that when it made a man a Scotsman, it meant him to be a Scotsman, when it made him an Irishman, much as the Englishman was surprised, it really meant that he should last out his days as an Irishman, and when it made a few Welshmen just in the corner of the island, it meant it.

What is the result ? The result is this. Britain is stronger. Wales had more recruits per head of the population voluntarily than any other part of the United Kingdom. Scotland came next, and that is a very high compliment to any nation because our religion is not interfered with, our language is respected, our nationality is, at any rate, tolerated. What is the result ? We work together as one people although we are four.

That is the lesson of Empire patriotism. It is

concentric. It is not one circle. There are several patriotisms. You have patriotism in your city. I believe you would prefer Montreal to prosper even before Toronto, and I would not be a bit surprised if Toronto returned the compliment, and you are quite right. Your first patriotism is to your city, the next is to your province; your next is to the Dominion; you are Canadian; your next is the British Empire. That is not the end. Your next great patriotism is humanity. I remember just before I started here being in the town of Swansea. The city conferred on me the same honour that Mr. Mayor conferred upon me to-day in your city, and made me a Freeman. They put the certificate in a casket which was made out of all the metals that were smelted, forged and worked in that city. There was iron, steel, tin, cobalt, nickel; there was gold and there was silver. They were not smelted into one metal. You saw them all there. But they all enclosed my freedom. That is the casket which is the British Empire. There are many metals. There are Indians, Scotsmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen; there are many races. They are in a casket which shields, which protects, which enshrines the liberty of every British citizen in the land.

Montreal. October 8, 1923.

I have come here to-day with one purpose, and one purpose only—to pay my humble and reverent tribute of respect to the memory of one of the great men of the world. It is difficult to express the feelings with

which I visited the home and the last resting-place of one of the noblest figures in the history of mankind. There have been great men whose lives constitute part of the history of the world. There are a few whose lives have become part of the legends of humanity. These are the greatest, and Lincoln's name will ever remain conspicuous among these. His fame is wider to-day than it was at the date of his death, and it is still widening. His influence is deeper, and it is still deepening.

Even if this were the occasion, I do not feel competent to pronounce any judgment on the qualities that made him great, and on the deeds or words that will make his name endure for evermore. Least of all would I presume to do so in the city where are still living men who knew him. All I know about him is that he was one of those rare men whom you do not associate with any particular creed, or party, or even country. He belongs to the human race in every clime and age.

There are the great men of a party or of a creed. There are great men of their time, and there are great men of all time for their own native land, but Lincoln was a great man of all time, for all parties and for all lands. He was the choice and the champion of a party, but his lofty soul could see over and beyond party walls the unlimited terrain beyond. His motto was : " Stand with anybody who stands right." Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. No pure partisan would ever assent to so disintegrating a proposition.

I have read many of his biographies. His career was highly successful judged by any standard—from

the wretched log cabin of Kentucky, of which I saw a picture to-day, through that comfortable home I visited, on to the official residence of the President of the greatest republic on earth, seems a triumphal march enough for any career. And yet his life is in many ways one of the saddest of human stories, and even the tragic end comes as a relief.

He once said : " I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom." Yet, as soon as he reached the height of ambition, this man, who shunned hurt and scattered kindness on his path, was doomed by a cruel destiny to send millions of his own fellow-countrymen through the torturing experiences of a prolonged and fierce war against their own kith and kin. This, the tenderest soul who ever ruled over a land, was driven for five years by an inexorable fate to pierce the gentle hearts of mothers with anguish that death alone can assuage.

And in this, the greatest and most poignant task of his life, he was worried, harassed, encumbered, lassooed at every turn by the vanities, the jealousies, the factiousness and the wiles of swarms of little men. He was misrepresented, misunderstood, maligned, derided, thwarted in every good impulse, thought or deed. No wonder his photographs become sadder and sadder and more and more tragic year by year up to the tragic end.

His example and his wise sayings are the inheritance of mankind, and will be quoted and used to save it from its follies to the end of the ages. The lessons of his statesmanship are as applicable to-day as they were sixty years ago. They will be as applicable a thousand years hence as they are to-day. Being dead,

he still speaketh. He has messages of moment for this present hour.

The first is: "To trust the common people." That trust is weakening in the continent of Europe, and country after country is abandoning its faith in democracy. It is the time to proclaim Lincoln's indomitable confidence in the ultimate justice and "To trust the common people."

What is his next message? "Clemency in the hour of triumph: the doctrine of pagan worlds was woe to the conquered." Lincoln's doctrine was: "Reconcile the vanquished."

It is a time for remembering that vengeance is the justice of the savage, and that conciliation is the triumph of civilisation over barbarism. Lincoln is the finest product in the realm of statesmanship of the Christian civilisation, and the wise counsel he gave to his own people in the day of their triumph he also gives to-day to the people of Europe in the hour of their victory over the forces that menace their liberties.

Springfield, Illinois. October 17, 1923.

It is discouraging that, five years after the great triumph won by the armies of the Allies with the assistance of the gallant men you sent from this great republic, Europe should be in such a condition of chaos and disturbance as it is to-day. It is a matter of importance to every business community, and as this is the greatest business community in the world, it is a matter of importance to the United States of America that Europe should be in that state. You are a country of vast resources, and you are more

independent of other continents and countries than any other land under the sun. But, after all, even your rich country, even your affluent land, to a certain extent suffers from the disturbances in Europe.

Two days ago I had the pleasure of meeting some representatives of the farmers of the Middle West. They told me that the farming communities of this country were suffering from the impairment of the purchasing power of Europe. The need of Europe is as great, greater than ever, but its power of purchasing the commodities that will support those deficiencies is almost less than it ever was. Europe is like a ragged man standing before the plate glass window of a richly provided store. He needs the garments which appear there more than the well dressed man who has gone in to purchase more. He needs the food which is supplied more than the well fed people who go in and out. But he cannot buy it because he cannot pay. That is the condition of Europe to-day.

Why is that? The war is over five years; Europe has a frugal, hard-working, industrious population of millions in every country, and you may say she ought to have made up the deficiencies of war ere now. What is the reason? The first is this: Europe is exhausted after the most terrible war that has ever been waged in the whole story of mankind. Let me give you just a short summary of the wounds and losses of Europe.

Ten to fifteen millions of her best men, her picked men in the prime of life, had been slaughtered on the battle-fields of that great war. Probably an equal number died from the pestilences which are always

associated with war. The war cost one hundred and eighty thousand millions of dollars to the countries of Europe, between forty and fifty millions sterling in ammunition, in the cost of devastation and desolation and in the wreckage inflicted upon the land across which the battle raged.

The whole machinery of trade and commerce is torn and shattered. Currency, exchange, the arrangements which business men have made through the centuries for interchanging commodities—all are gone. We have improvised something to enable us to carry on, but the old methods of trading are gone. Hunger and plague still stalk through Europe. There are bread riots where men are killed in the search for food for their children. I have read the accounts in your daily press since I have arrived in this great land. How many children have died no one can tell, but the recording angel is keeping a strict account of every little head that droops in Europe.

That is the condition of Europe from the Great War, and it will take a long, long time for Europe to pick up, even if all the conditions were favourable—and they are not. What is it that is retarding recovery? As you know, in convalescence there are local irritations that retard recovery, and there have been two or three of that kind since the date of the peace. What are they? The first was the Russian revolution; that was a great menace. It was a great peril. It was a great disturbance. It retarded the recovery of credit and confidence, but it is improving. The fact that the Russians met the nations of Europe at Genoa last year and discussed their problems with the representatives of other lands on terms of amity has

had a soothing and quieting effect. They then undertook solemnly not to engage in aggressive action against any of their neighbours. They have kept that pact faithfully and substantially up to the present. Therefore the Russian is improving. But there is another indication which is causing more anxiety at the present moment than any, and that is the subject of German reparations.

Now, with your indulgence, I should like to say a word about that. What is the British view with regard to reparations? It is, first of all, traditional. The war of 1914 is not the first great war that Britain has been engaged in on the continent of Europe. It has during the centuries been engaged in other combinations for the purpose of fighting autocracies threatening the liberties of Europe. It fought Louis XIV. It fought Napoleon, under revolutionary armies, for more than twenty years. In all those cases Britain emerged victoriously, but when the time came for dictating the terms of peace, Britain was always a moderate and moderating influence. We have always opposed any effort to impose humiliating terms upon the vanquished. In the war with Louis XIV, the terms were so temperate as to surprise even the French. In 1815, after the battle of Waterloo and the overthrow of Napoleon, the allies, Prussia, Russia and Austria, wanted to impose humiliating terms on France, but the Duke of Wellington refused to assent to those proposals. Therefore, when Britain takes a moderate view to-day, she is pursuing her traditional policy of moderation in victory.

What is her attitude toward the German reparations? We first of all say that Germany, having

wantonly inflicted damage upon her neighbours, who were anxious to live in peace with her, ought to make up the loss. By every law she is liable to pay damages to the limit of her capacity.

The next thing we say is that that capacity must be reasonably interpreted. How are you to interpret it? We are confronted with a problem that nations have never encountered before, and that is the transmission of huge sums of money from one country to other countries in a currency which is convertible into their own. That has never arisen before. We have experienced it in our payment of the debt we owe to you. Our debt to you is somewhere in the neighbourhood of four thousand million dollars—quite a tidy sum. And I need hardly tell you that it is not a very easy matter to pay a debt of that magnitude. But it is not one-sixth of the sum which has been assessed against Germany. How can she pay it? It is no use saying the country has great assets—forests, and lands, and railways, and mines, and factories. You cannot transfer those mines and factories and railways bodily from one country to another. But, they say, you can sell them. But the receipts are paid in marks, the dividends are distributed in marks, and until you give value to those marks you cannot collect any debt.

The obvious method, therefore, of collecting the debt from Germany is to restore the credit of Germany, so that her currency should have value, and when she pays in that currency we receive value. That is the British view.

Great Britain has every interest in collecting German reparations. More than one-fifth of the amount has

been allocated to her. Germany sank 8,000,000 tons of British shipping, bombarded British towns from the sea and air, and caused the payment of pensions and compensations to the mutilated and the widows of the dead. So that Britain is entitled to 22 per cent. of that compensation. She has, therefore, a direct interest in collecting as much as she can ; and if she takes a moderate view, it is not because she is disinterested ; it is because she is interested.

The war cost us more than it cost any other country. It cost us $40,000,000,000. We advanced $8,000,000,000 to the Allies. I am sorry to say they are in no hurry to pay. Therefore our taxation is the highest in the world. Why ? We determined from the start to pay our way and pay our debts. It is a habit our ancestors got us into. But it is a costly habit. The taxation in Britain is the heaviest in any country in the world. But still more we pay our debts. We have 1,300,000 unemployed, and it costs us $400,000,000 a year to keep them from starvation. Therefore we have every interest to collect reparations, were it only to lighten our burdens.

Why, therefore, do we not join in these expeditions to Germany to collect the gold ? Because we know that it is not the way to get it. You will get plenty of trouble, but no cash. And as we have had enough trouble to last us a generation, we do not seek any more.

Now, if Germany were shamming insolvency, if she were pretending she could not pay in order to avoid payment, we should join in any expedition for the purpose of compelling her. But is she ? That is the question. Let us look at the situation calmly.

She has lost her iron deposits, largely. They have been handed over to France. The coal deposits of the Saar have been handed over to France. A good deal of her coal in Silesia has gone to Poland. Her potash has gone to France. Her merchant marine has been distributed among the allies, and so have her provinces. She is a beaten country, and therefore her prestige and her credit have gone. Nevertheless, she has paid since the peace two thousand million dollars to the Allies in respect of reparations and armies of occupation, a gigantic sum for a country under such conditions, and nearly three times what France paid in 1871.

Can she pay more? That is the question. How can you ascertain? You cannot examine the ledgers with bayonets. There are ways of ascertaining whether Germany can pay more. If she can, she ought to. It is to her interest to get done with it. And if she can pay, but is merely refusing to pay, let us find it out and the Allies will march together in any enterprise that is necessary to force her to pay.

How are you to ascertain what her capacity is? Mr. Secretary Hughes delivered a very important speech at the beginning of this year at New Haven, in which he proposed that the whole question of Germany's capacity to pay should be examined by a commission of business experts, and he made it clear if a commission of that kind were appointed, every facility would be given for an American expert to be on that body; a thoroughly practical, business-like proposal.

The examination of Germany's capacity by the Treaty of Versailles was left to a body called the

Reparations Commission. On that body the United States of America wanted to be represented. But something happened to that treaty down in Washington. The United States of America, therefore, has no representative. But when it is suggested there should be a committee of experts, with an American amongst them, that is substantially the same thing, and I cannot understand why either France or Belgium should refuse to accept that very moderate and sensible proposal. The United States of America is absolutely impartial. She has no interest in reparations. She has certainly no more interest in Germany than anybody else. She is very well disposed towards France. Therefore, with a friendly country, absolutely impartial, with a great fund of business knowledge at its disposal, represented in a body of that kind, it seems to me we would find a way to ascertain how much Germany can pay, and once we have done that, then we could march together to compel her to pay.

That seems to me to be the only way to settle this troublesome question without creating further disturbance, without upsetting the world, without keeping everyone in a state of nervousness and trepidation, without destroying the confidence which is the life of commerce.

What is the alternative? Nothing but the blindness of force and violence. You have sixty millions of people in Germany. It is a fatal mistake to drive them into despair. While we want reparations, revolution is not the way to get them. There is an old saying that men, in order to escape from a fire, will plunge themselves into boiling water. That is going to be the story of Germany if she is pressed

without reason or without examination. Movements to the right and movements to the left, movements of communists and movement of militarists, with a dictatorship doing its best to hold the balance. What will happen ?

I don't know whether you read General Hoffman's account of the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk. He said that next to him at one of the repasts was a Bolshevik peasant, rather uncouth, and he said to him, " Will you have wine ? " and, as he had just come from a Prohibition country, he said, " Yes." He was then asked, " Red or white ? " and he said, " Which is the strongest ? " That is the question which is being asked in Germany at the present moment between red and white. That is not what you want. You want a settlement. You want peace. It is the surest road to reparations. It is the surest road to the restoration of Europe. That is why we have been unable to join the full invasion of Germany without an examination, such as Mr. Secretary Hughes suggested, into the question of Germany's capacity.

This problem has been examined by great French statesmen before. M. Clemenceau, M. Millerand and M. Briand have all looked at this question of the invasion of the Ruhr. They have always dismissed it. They have always said, with the instinct of great, sane statesmanship, that it was the wrong road ; and I regret that their wise policy has not been adhered to.

Justice is shrewd ; justice will be served ; but justice is always temperate, and justice is always patient.

Vengeance, vengeance is justice without wisdom. That we want to avoid.

I regret that after such a great and glorious victory there should be questions of this kind to retard the fruition of peace. I remember the day of peace, the day of the armistice. A day of joy. A day of trial. I remember the great march in London, when your commander-in-chief with a contingent of American troops, Marshal Foch with a contingent of French troops, and General Diaz with a contingent of Italian troops marched along through the crowded streets of joy with our troops. It was a red dawn, but it was the dawn of peace, and our hopes were high. There is an old oriental saying, "Hast seen the dawn? Thou hast not yet seen the dusk." The skies are full of menace. Storm clouds are gathering over Europe. It will need all the wisdom, all the calm, all the judgment of the mariners who are guiding the ship of civilisation to navigate it, or else it will be wrecked, with its invaluable cargo of achievement and hope for mankind.

Chicago. October 18, 1923.

Democracy is in greater peril at this hour than it has probably ever been. Immediately after the war there was a strong current running in its favour through all lands. Empires and kingdoms fell, autocracies were swept away; new democracies sprung up from the soil of Europe everywhere. In a few years a reaction has set in, and four great countries that had started on the road of democratic government have for the moment abandoned it and set up dictatorships—Russia, Italy, Spain and, for the moment, Germany. Beyond that there is an

undercurrent of hostility to democracy and democratic institutions. You can hear it everywhere—in the tittle-tattle of the boudoirs and the growls of the clubs and democracy for the moment is in great jeopardy. It is in jeopardy after its greatest trial.

I wonder how many realise that the last war, which was the greatest struggle ever waged in the history of mankind, was largely a struggle between democracies and autocracies. You had the military autocracy of Germany, of Austria, of Turkey. And even Bulgaria set up a military autocracy. You had ranged on the other side the democracy of France, the democracy of Britain, the democracy of Italy and the democracy of this great Republic. We had one autocracy on our side, Russia, which was with us the first two years of the war.

Autocracy had all in its favour. I remember very well before the war how military men used to complain to us. They said : " We are handicapped in the preparation for war by the fact that we have got to yield to democratic institutions. Look at Germany," they said, " they get what they want. They can organise a great army ; they can organise a great navy, without interference from a meddlesome democracy." That was the common talk before the war. What happened ? Autocracies were better prepared, autocracy was better drilled, autocracy was better equipped, better trained—that is all right for a short struggle ; but for a struggle of endurance it is the heart that tells.

We had an overwhelming democracy, and when the strain came, the fatigue, the inevitable exhaustion, the heart of democracy held. Russia failed in

democracy, and France held to the end. Italy was badly equipped, with Germany still tenacious, determined, fighting right to the last day without faltering.

I have no doubt that if the war had gone on for one, two, three or four years, the democracy of America would have been as determined even beyond the fourth year, and more than at the first. War is a great test of the endurance.

We had a very good test of what democracy is capable of in our own country. We were aroused upon two questions. When people quarrel about religion they are more fierce, more savage, and more uncivilised than when they quarrel about anything else. That is one of the quarrels we had. The other quarrel was a quarrel over Ireland. For seven hundred years that fight had been going on. It had reached its climax, and there was real danger of civil war. Men were armed for the fight. We were nearer civil war in England then than we have been since the days of the Pretender. In the meantime, Germany invaded the soil of Belgium, threatened the independence of that country, and all treaties that had been signed by the King of Prussia, as well as the King of England. From that moment we were one people, one democracy, one unit. That is what democracy can do in the trial of a nation. It is a thing that is worth keeping alive, and when these attacks come, as they are coming, I shall certainly stand for the rule of the people.

An individual grows old, grows feeble, and sometimes he grows foolish, but the people are ever young. Autocracy is a gamble ; democracy is as safe an investment as you can get. German autocracy

started under the most brilliant conditions in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, and ended under the most humiliating circumstances in the same place.

These autocracies all started with the general acclaim that it was the voice of God.

Whatever may be said in other lands, democracy has its faults. No one is more conscious of it than we are. I remember the story of the Justices who met on the occasion of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and presented an address from the Bench. The Lord Chief Justice said : " How shall we begin ? Suppose we begin by saying, 'Conscious as we are of our defects, and also how conscious of each other's defects.' " That is the advantage of democracy—we are conscious of each other's defects. Wherever there is a mistake made, there are millions of voices to point it out. Where there is a mistake, let me say that there are millions of willing hands to put it right. Democracy has its faults ; but if there are millions who commit faults, there are many more millions to laugh at it and point out the defects with a readiness to put them right. That is what saves democracy.

You may imagine I am talking commonplace platitudes, something which is not necessary to talk. Believe me, democracy is on trial ; maybe not here. You will stand by it, but there are nations that have given it up ; there are nations that have attempted to give it up, and unless the nations that have tried and have been brought through many trials stand by it, democracy in the world may disappear. We have three great democracies in the world at the present moment to stand by these principles—your great land, France and Britain.

Here we are on that great ocean, with the St. Lawrence in the New World, and the Delaware River, the Potomac and the Garonne between us, pouring their waters into the same great ocean, mingling the waters under the impulse of the same sky, tides and winds. That is what I hope to see in the great struggle of the future, the same great popular currents, the same great ideals, the same great aspirations mingling in a great ocean, which will carry from one land to another, and which will penetrate to the extreme ends of the earth. I am hopeful in spite of many trials and tribulations in Europe, many anxieties and many apprehensions. I passed through your great country, a peaceable continent, an affluent continent, a continent of vast resources, and a continent of infinite progress for the benefit of mankind. I came from a continent racked with anxiety, torn with dissension and ancient feuds which have not yet been settled ; ferocities that have not yet been calmed, which a few years ago broke out in a cataclysm which devastated a continent and reached you. I am hopeful that after a struggle which has created such desolation over vast territories, with your help, the help that you gave us so readily, so unselfishly, and with such an inspiration in 1917, that with that help Europe also will be redeemed and mankind will march steadily, clearly and resolutely along the road that will lead to a higher civilisation.

Philadelphia. October 30, 1923.

I have travelled in the course of the months I have been on this side of the Atlantic some thousands

of miles in Canada and in the United States of America, and my first and, I think, my deepest impression is the vastness of these two great countries—countries of infinite resources, land of endless possibilities. There was an old Welsh peasant who had lived inland all his life, and had a very hard time of it on his small farm who, in his old age, came for the first time to the sea-side, and when he saw the sea he said : "Thank God for something of which there seems to be plenty."

I had that feeling in crossing your plains and prairies. It is a gigantic country, with possibilities which are beyond the dreams of men. May I say that one thing has—I will not say surprised me, but has given me great delight—and that is the great beauty of your country in its autumn robes. I had heard of the grandeur of the Far West, but I had no idea that the Eastern portions of Canada and of the United States of America were so beautiful, and certainly not as beautiful as they are at this time of the year. The profuseness, the variety, the brilliance of colouring—the oak and the maple, clad in splendour, even little shrubs, the mere weeds of the wilderness, arrayed in radiant glory. I feel that the great king must be holding his autumnal court in the great forests of the West. It is a beautiful sight, and one I shall never forget. . . .

We have all had our responsibility. During the war I stood for the ruthless prosecution of the war to a triumphant end. The moment the war was over I equally stood for a ruthless prosecution of peace to an even more glorious end. Those who make war, whether they are individuals or nations, cannot escape responsibility for the peace.

Europe is in a deplorable condition. Who is responsible? Some say it is the Treaty of Versailles. I am not here to defend the Treaty of Versailles; I am quite willing, on an appropriate occasion, to do so, and to say that it was the best treaty that could be negotiated under the conditions of the time. But it is not the Treaty of Versailles. Every treaty depends not merely upon its intrinsic merits, but upon the methods and manner of its execution.

When I was driving out of Washington, I noticed warnings to motorists on the roadside. Evidently motorists give some trouble in that city, if in no other. The road was a winding road; it could not go absolutely straight from point to point. What road can? It had to dodge hills and difficulties; it had to cross ravines and rivers, and it was a road that was adapted, like every other road, to the configuration of the country. And motorists, evidently some, drove recklessly, drove wildly, drove injudiciously, and there was this notice on the roadside: "This road is not fool-proof." I would put that on the front page of every treaty and statute. But the condition of Europe was not created by the Treaty of Versailles. The difficulties were not created by that treaty. They were created by the war. They were created by the completeness of the victory. It was the most complete victory that has almost ever been won in wars between great nations. Germany, Austria, were shattered, demoralised, disarmed, prostrate; we left them like broken-backed creatures on the road for any chariot to run over. We created the responsibility. Who did it? Who

did it? Who smashed Germany? Who destroyed Austria? Who created this impotence which makes it difficult to execute treaties? Well, if you had asked it on Armistice Day, we all would have gently hinted that it was really done by us.

There was an old preacher in our country who, going on the Saturday night to his preaching engagement, saw on the roadside a haystack, very neat, very well put together; it looked very firm. And he saw a farmer standing alongside it, and he said: "Who made that excellent haystack?" "Oh," he said, "I did it; I did it." The following day there was a great storm, and on Monday morning, when the old preacher was returning that way, the haystack had been scattered all over the field in hopeless confusion. And he saw the same farmer standing there, and he said to him: "That was very badly put together; that was not very well done. Who did it?" "Well," he said, "we did it somehow between us"

That is really true of the condition of things in Europe. We were all responsible for the victory; we each contributed his part; we each did something towards shattering the fabric, and we have got our responsibility for what follows. It is easier to make war than to make peace. In the Civil War in America there were millions of men who were prepared to sacrifice their lives to wage successful war, but there was only one man who was prepared to risk his career to make a successful peace, and he was shot down. You say, "Yes, by an unbalanced mind." All vengeance is unbalanced. Every vindictive man or woman is partly insane. . . .

You sent millions of your most gallant young men, brave, dauntless. I saw them in France ; I knew their quality. The mere sight of them gave confidence to us, who had been for three and four years going through the valley of despair. You sent millions of them to enforce justice. Justice is not sporadic. Justice is not an explosion which spends its force on a single outburst, and then vanishes into thin air. Justice is the steadfast will to see right done in the world. That is why I hail this step with acclamation, and I wish it, from my heart, success. Your country and ours have very largely the same problems to consider and to confront. There is a natural disinclination in England to get entangled in European politics. It is traditional. We have always stood more or less by the policy of isolation. We have said, " We are an island in the Atlantic. We have got the sea between us and you," and in the past it has proved to be just as difficult to cross the Straits of Dover as to cross the Atlantic Ocean, when the British Fleet is about. So there is a very strong section, a powerful section of opinion which pleads for leaving Europe alone. They say, " Turn your eyes away from that confusion ; give your minds to developing the resources of the British Empire. Leave that turbulent continent and don't worry about it." Well, it is no use getting angry with Europe. It has passed through a terrible time.

Supposing you had had an earthquake which swept over America, and either killed or crippled every young able-bodied man in the whole of the Eastern States of America from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico ; supposing you had had enormous

accumulations which had been the result of the industry of generations scattered and destroyed—that will give you an idea of what Europe has passed through. Between those who have been killed and those who have been mutilated, Europe has lost over 20,000,000 of her best young men, and the destruction of property, of wealth, of the accumulated fruits of industry, has been gigantic. No wonder Europe is distracted. Europe is nerve-wracked ; when she hears a rumble, no wonder she gets into a panic. Don't think harshly of Europe. There are events in the lives of men and in the lives of nations which are like the fall of the autumn leaves. They fall by the myriad to the ground. They are swept by the breezes into unconsidered corners, where they are forgotten ; they sink into the soil and form part of the earth. We cultivate, we dwell upon them, or tread upon them. Nothing more of them is heard ; they are indistinguishable from others.

But once in a century there are events which are like the fall of the stars ; the fragments strike the earth and send it rocking and reeling out of its course. Look at Europe before the war, study the map of Europe to-day, its geography, its frontiers, its currency, its condition, its people, its Governments—study its pension lists. There were empires that were like the planets in the heavens that have been rolled down into utter endless darkness. There were countries that were like the fixed stars in the firmament, they have crashed into atoms. The earth quivers in Europe, and no one can tell how far it has been shocked out of its course. Don't be hard on Europe. But they say to us in Britain, and they say to you

here, "Keep clear of the wreckage." Yes, but there are millions underneath. There is Scriptural precept for it. It has only happened on the continent of Europe. Great nations cannot say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Europe has played a great part. There would have been no known America had there been no Europe to find it. You have got a great virile population. It came from Europe. You have got great names that inspire your people, and will continue to do so world without end—George Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Lincoln. They all sprang from European stock. Your free institutions in this country—and well you may be proud of them—the great struggle for civil and religious equality, came from the long agony of Europe. May I say with reverence, when the Cross was turned out of Asia and hunted out of Africa, Europe stood by it, carried it through the Via Dolorosa of the Dark Ages, and if it is planted firmly on American soil, Europe carried it here. Don't be hard on Europe!

What is the real problem in Europe to-day? I will tell you. In spite of the war, because Europe has been left so much to herself, she still believes in force. Why?

France says: "Alsace Lorraine was torn from our side fifty years ago. It was unjust; it was wrong; it was cruel; it was oppressive. Justice never gave it back to us. We had to lose 1,400,000 of our young men. You, in the British Empire, had to lose 900,000 of your young men. Force gave it back to us."

Poland! Poland says: "One hundred and fifty years ago our nationhood was destroyed. We were locked in the prison of great autocracies. We waited

for justice. We thought we could hear possible footsteps, but they were simply the footsteps of our jailers outside. Force came at the end of 150 years and unlocked the door."

The Russian peasant says to-day : " We never saw the light of liberty until the revolutionist came with his powder and blew our prison walls down."

What does Germany say ? Germany says : " We trusted to justice. We trusted to a treaty. We are broken ; we are shattered. Why ? We are disarmed. We have no force."

That is why Europe believes in force. That is why Europe believes in violence. What is the remedy ? Give Europe the conviction that right is supreme over force. Who is to do it ? There are only two countries on earth which can establish that conviction, and those are the United States of America and the British Empire. Unless it is done, I don't know what is going to happen. France at the present moment—and I am sorry for it ; I have always been a friend of France ; I have always been a believer in French democracy ; during the thirty-four years I have been in the British Parliament I have always supported France when she had few friends—at the present moment she is committed to holding the wolf by the ear. She cannot let go, but ultimately it may turn and rend her.

I heard yesterday from a man who had just returned from Germany, who met one of the officers who had been appointed at the Treaty of Versailles to break up the cannon and the machine guns and the torpedoes of Germany. He said up to the last year the German workmen, whenever he went to the workshops and

arsenals, used to help him to destroy these guns and say, " For God's sake, destroy them ; these are the things that brought ruin on our country." Now he says there is a change. There is a change. They say, " We cannot trust justice, we cannot trust treaties, we cannot trust the word of great nations, force is the only thing that rules in the world." Unless you stamp out that conviction, civilisation is doomed on this earth. That is why I don't know.

Why do I say that these great nationalities are the only two that can provide the remedy ? These two countries entered the war for no selfish purpose. You came in to redress a great wrong. So did we. I remember a few days before the war—I was Chancellor of the Exchequer—I had to deal with the great financial interests in the City of London, and of one accord they came along and said, " Keep out of this quarrel ; we don't want to get mixed up in it." There was no reason why we should. We had no quarrel at that moment with Germany. Germany was our best customer on the continent of Europe. They were giving a guarantee that they would not send their fleet even down the English Channel. But I think it was Saturday when came the word that treaties were to be dealt with as if they were scraps of paper ; that international right was to be trampled upon ; that a little nation was to be destroyed purely because it was weak. From that moment the nation rose, forty-two millions, as one man, and we entered the war.

Why did we enter the war ? Why did you enter the war ? Why did the unanimous impulse come to you ? You cannot tell, you cannot tell—mystic—the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we know not

whence it cometh nor whither it goeth. It was one of those great impulses which come when a nation's sense of justice is outraged. That is why I say that nations that are moved by such incentives are the only sure guarantors of freedom and civilisation in the world.

There have been times in the history of the world when you had two or three nations that for the time being have been the trustees of civilisation. One after another they have failed. They have not discharged their functions, and in spite of the efforts and the power they enjoyed in the days of their might, one after another they went and new nations sprang up to take their place. The commission of trusteeship for civilisation does not come from kings ; it does not come from rulers or princes ; it does not come from Senates and Parliaments nor councils. It comes from on high. When it comes it does not come from the choice of the people ; it comes from the will of God.

That commission—that commission is yours and ours to-day. The scene is a divine one. You responded to the invisible message in 1917, and we had already done so ; but the commission is not fulfilled. The work is only half done. If it is not discharged fully—fully—civilisation is doomed within this generation to a catastrophe such as the world has never seen. But if you here, this mighty people, if our people throughout the British Empire, resolutely, firmly, courageously, without flinching, carry out the message, then I have no fear but what humanity will climb to higher altitudes of nobility, of security, of happiness, than any it has ever yet known.

New York. November 3, 1923.

MAXIMS

The next best thing to setting a good example is to follow one.

Newcastle. October 1, 1891.

Nations can neither be made nor unmade by Acts of Parliament.

Birkenhead. February 3, 1892.

Human sacrifice is invariably the price demanded for human progress.

Cardiff. October 11, 1894.

Englishmen have never yet been convinced by the process of argumentative appeal to their faculties. They only surrender to hard facts.

Pwllheli. August 10, 1895.

The test of heroism is not the winning of a victory, but the braving of a defeat.

Manchester. October 23, 1895.

Some men deal with facts as a builder does with a stone. He chooses from the pile the one that suits him best, rejecting all the rest. He then breaks and chisels, and chips it into the shape and dimensions which suit his own object, and, if, after all, it does not fit in, he rejects it altogether. So do some politicians handle facts to fit into the superstructure of their political faith.

Aberystwyth. December 1, 1896.

Public men should be made to live up to the level of their perorations.

Cardiff. January 20, 1903.

The most difficult courage of all was not the two o'clock in the morning courage we have heard so much about. It is the courage that will see a thing through.

Cardiff. January 20, 1903.

It is very difficult to touch one thing in a commercial country without bringing down something else.

Paisley. December 2, 1903.

You cannot carry a ladder in a crowded street as you can across an open field.

Paisley. December 2, 1903.

It is very easy to begin a quarrel ; it is very difficult to forecast how it will end.

Bristol. November 14, 1904.

The highest standard of civilisation is the readiness to sacrifice for others.

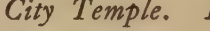
Queen's Hall. September 19, 1914.

It is not what happens to you in life that matters ; it is the way in which you face it.

Queen's Hall. September 19, 1914.

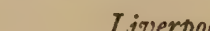
In a long struggle it is the heart that tells.

City Temple. November 10, 1914.



You cannot remove difficulties without facing them.

Liverpool. June 14, 1915.



The best expert is rarely the best organiser.

House of Commons. June 23, 1915.

The most fatuous way of economising is to produce an inadequate supply. A good margin is but a

sensible insurance. Less than enough is a foolish piece of extravagance.

House of Commons. December 20, 1915.

A nation may be rich in minerals, may be rich in its soil, may be rich in natural beauties ; it may be rich in its commerce ; but unless it is also rich in great men, there is an essential ingredient to national wealth which is missing.

Cardiff. October 27, 1916.

The only way to gain time is not to lose time.

Carnarvon. February 3, 1917.

The wildest revolutionary is the most reactionary person in the world.

London (*Guildhall*). *April* 27, 1917.

People are discovering that no party has a monopoly of wisdom.

London (*Guildhall*). *April* 27, 1917.

There is nothing so fatal to character as half finished tasks.

Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

There is a hot zeal and a cold zeal, and the greatest things of the world have been accomplished by the latter.

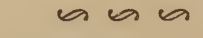
Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

A challenged power which is not overthrown always becomes stronger for the challenge.

Gray's Inn. December 14, 1917.

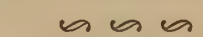
No quarrel ought ever to be converted into a policy.

London (*Hotel Victoria*). *October* 25, 1922.



In business a refusal to face disagreeable facts leads to bankruptcy ; in war it leads to defeat ; in science it leads to false conclusions ; in theology it is commonly believed to lead to perdition ; in politics it lands you in all those unpleasant consequences.

London (*National Liberal Club*). *May* 12, 1924.



Each generation has its own day's march to complete on the road of progress. A generation that goes back on ground already gained doubles the march for its children.

International Liberal Conference. July, 1928.

Liberty has restraints but no frontiers.

International Liberal Conference. July, 1928.

Sincerity is the surest road to confidence.

Aberystwyth. August 3, 1928.

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